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NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is with profound regret that we have to record the death of Sir Evan Spicer, J.P., D.L., which took place on Monday, the 22nd of December, at his home "Belair," West Dulwich, in his eighty-ninth year.

SIR EVAN
SPICER.

Sir Evan was the last surviving member of the original body of Trustees of the John Rylands Library. For thirty-eight years he took a very active interest, particularly in its financial affairs, and on several occasions he had rendered signal service to the Trust.

Rarely was Sir Evan absent from the annual meetings of the Trustees, and as recently as March of last year he wrote signifying his intention of attending a meeting which was to be held during that month, but at the last moment, to reproduce his own words, he "caved in," greatly to his disappointment.

Sir Evan was the last survivor of the four sons of Mr. James Spicer, D.L., of Woodford, Essex, at one time Treasurer of the Congregational Union, and the foremost layman in the denomination. All four brothers inherited and cultivated an interest in church life and Christian service. In early manhood they came to a working agreement whereby one brother (James) should live in Kent, another (Albert) in Essex, a third (Evan) in Surrey, and the fourth (George) in Hertfordshire, so that each would have a distinct field of service, and none would trespass on the other's spheres of influence.

Evan was born on the 20th of April, 1849. He was educated at the Mill Hill School, of which he lived to be senior Old Millhillian, and President of the Old Millhillians' Club. Upon leaving school he joined his father's firm, James Spicer & Son, wholesale stationers and papermakers, in Upper Thames Street,

London. He early interested himself in local government affairs, and when the London County Council was created he was elected at once to the aldermanic bench, acting for three years as chairman of the Council's Finance Committee. After serving a year as Deputy-Chairman of the Council, he was elected Chairman for 1906-1907.

The knighthood conferred upon Sir Evan in 1917, was in recognition of his services to London's civic life, and it may be said here that few men in public life have employed their gifts and opportunities to wider and better advantage.

Even while devoting his energies to his exacting work of the London County Council Sir Evan made time for a variety of religious activities. The Free Churches were his first and life-long interest, and he was a tower of strength to the Congregational Church, to which he rendered loyal and generous service. In 1886, when he was thirty-seven years of age, he was appointed Chairman of the Surrey Congregational Union, which was his first important public office. Never did he allow his public work to interfere with his church attendance. Often after a long day on the London County Council Committees he would attend a deacon's meeting, or take part in an evening service.

In 1896, the year in which the French Government assumed control of the island of Madagascar, Sir Evan Spicer was sent by the London Missionary Society to negotiate with the French authorities as to the London Missionary Society's missions. Sir Evan's genial tactfulness was rewarded with success, which resulted in the forging of an abiding friendship with the Governor, General Gallieni, who twenty years later was to play so conspicuous a part in the Great War. One of Sir Evan's most prized honours was the Order of "Chevalier of the Legion of Honour," which was conferred upon him by the French Government in recognition of his services.

Sir Evan's marriage, in 1873, to Miss Annie Whitley of Halifax, was the commencement of an ideal companionship which ended only with Lady Spicer's death on Christmas Day, 1932. Until her death Lady Spicer, with her beloved husband, dispensed hospitality on a lavish scale at their beautiful home at Dulwich, with its park-like estate, its tree-sheltered lake, and its home farm,

which lie within the old four-mile cab radius from Charing Cross. They also made it their habit to visit the village churches in the county and make friends with their ministers. Their names are to be found upon the foundation stones of many churches. With them kindness was an ingrained habit, but many of their kindly acts were delightfully unusual and unobtrusive, as the writer can testify.

The wide range of Sir Evan's public service may be gathered by a bare recital of the offices he filled at various times: He was Chairman of the British and Foreign School Society, Chairman of the South London Polytechnic, Commissioner of the Lambeth Public Libraries, Governor respectively of Dulwich College, of the Royal Holloway College, and of Cheshunt College. He was Treasurer of the Free Church Council, and of the London Missionary Society, a very vigorous member of the General Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a member of the Court of the Fishmongers' Company, and President of the Equitable Insurance Company.

Throughout his long residence in Dulwich Sir Evan was closely associated with Emmanuel Church as member and deacon, and a long succession of ministers of that church found in him guide, counsellor and friend.

Sir Evan was an unbending evangelical who followed the old paths. He was suspicious of modern theological tendencies, but during the last decade he found a new and thrilling religious experience in the Oxford Group Movement, to which he attached himself with characteristic eagerness and enthusiasm.

Sir Evan was blessed with a very good constitution and it was not until early in 1937, when he was eighty-eight years of age, that his health began to wane, and that he gradually relinquished most of his public duties.

Rarely has a more representative congregation assembled than the hundreds of men and women in public life who attended the memorial service to pay a last tribute to their friend.

In the crowded church at Dulwich of which he long had been deacon were members of both Houses of Parliament, the senior alderman of the City of London, and numbers of preachers to whom Sir Evan had been a good friend.

The preacher, Dr. Sidney Berry, delivered a moving eulogy of this good and lovable servant of his fellow-men.

His memory will be cherished by all who knew him. He will be missed in many circles, where by his life and character he had won respect and affection.

Four sons and two daughters survive to mourn their beloved father's loss, to whom we desire to offer our sincere sympathy in their sore bereavement.

By the death of Dr. Alphonse Mingana, which took place on Sunday, the 5th of December, 1937, at his home at King's Norton, Birmingham, at the age of fifty-six years, Oriental scholarship has suffered an incalculable loss.

ALPHONSE
MINGANA.

For the seventeen years between July, 1915, and January, 1932, Dr. Mingana had been Curator of Oriental Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, a position he resigned in order to take up similar work in the then newly erected library of the Selly Oak Colleges, at Birmingham, which had been provided and equipped by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury.

It was in 1915 that Dr. Mingana accepted the invitation of the Rylands Librarian to join the staff of the Rylands Library with the primary object of preparing for publication a catalogue of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, which is regarded as one of the richest and most important extant.

For seventeen years Dr. Mingana laboured persistently at this catalogue, and before leaving Manchester he had completed the catalogue proper, which fills nearly six hundred quarto printed pages. It was published in 1934.

In the course of this work a number of most important discoveries were made, many of which have been described or published in the pages of the BULLETIN. Perhaps the most noteworthy was that of the earliest known apology for Islam as against Christianity, written about 850 A.D., at Baghdad, by 'Ali Ṭabari, at the Court of and with the assistance of the Caliph Muttawakkil. This was considered to be of such outstanding importance that Dr. Mingana was requested to prepare the text and an English translation for publication. This was done, and the two volumes

were issued by the Governors, in 1923, under the title: "The Book of Religion and Empire," and at once caused a great stir in the East. Another find which, upon its publication in the BULLETIN, also excited considerable interest in the East, was a Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Christian Church in A.D. 1138 by Muktafi II, the Mohammedan Caliph of Baghdad. No such charter of protection of Christians by a Mohammedan Caliph had hitherto been known. Other articles, including, in particular, two on the Early Spread of Christianity in India and the Far East, which have thrown a flood of new light upon the subjects with which they deal, met with a very warm welcome from students of the early history, not only of Christianity, but of Islam, and resulted in extending the influence and interest of the BULLETIN, and of directing attention to the richness of the collection, the examination of which had yielded such excellent results.

In the spring of 1923, in the autumn of 1925, and again in 1929, whilst still on the staff of the Rylands Library, Dr. Mingana undertook journeys to the East in search of manuscripts. This project was generously financed by Mr. Edward Cadbury, with the result that Dr. Mingana exceeded his most sanguine anticipations by bringing back some six hundred Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts, together with a large number of Arabic examples. The Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts are of the greatest possible importance, comprising, as they do, many lost texts of the Early Christian Fathers, and also of Christian Apocrypha. Some of these texts have been edited with critical apparatus and translations by Dr. Mingana, and have made their appearance in the pages of the BULLETIN, under the serial title: "Woodbrooke Studies," and also separately in volume form, but many remained still to be dealt with, and were issued in volume form from Selly Oak.

Another piece of work for which Dr. Mingana was responsible, in collaboration with Dr. Rendel Harris, was a facsimile edition of the famous Rylands manuscript of the "Odes of Solomon," which has excited such world-wide interest since its discovery in 1909 by Dr. Rendel Harris, that quite a library of literature has grown up around it. The facsimile of the Syriac text, is

accompanied by a translation in English versicles and an exhaustive introduction by the two editors. This edition was published in two volumes, in 1919-1920, and may be regarded as the "definitive edition" of the "Odes of Solomon."

In 1933 Dr. Mingana published the "Catalogue of the Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts in the possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak." This was followed in 1936 by the "Catalogue of the Christian Arabic and additional Syriac Manuscripts . . .," and at his death he was engaged upon catalogues of additional Syriac and Christian Arabic Manuscripts, and of the Islamic Arabic collection at Woodbrooke.

Dr. Mingana leaves a wife, a son, and a daughter to mourn his loss, to whom we offer our deepest sympathy.

The present year marks the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Royal "Injunctions," drawn up by Thomas, Lord Cromwell, and issued by Archbishop Cranmer (between September 30 and October 11, 1538) under the authority of King Henry VIII.

THE
ROYAL "IN-
JUNCTIONS"
OF 1538.

The "Injunctions" were issued to all the clergy of the province, requiring them to set up in some convenient place within the church of which they had cure, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, so that their parishioners might most commodiously resort to the same, and read it.

Under this authority, not only were the laity permitted to read the Bible in their own language, but a copy of the Bible, in English, was to be set up in every parish church, so that they might have access to it.

For the first time this privilege of the OPEN BIBLE was proclaimed throughout the parishes of this country, and it is the granting of this freedom that is being commemorated this year.

The commemoration of the publication of the "Injunctions," is to be followed next year (1939) by the commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the publication in April, 1539, of the "Great Bible," which is unquestionably the "Whole Bible of the largest volume in English," which was in active preparation in Paris towards the

THE GREAT
BIBLE, 1539.

end of 1538, and was intended to conform to the requirements of the Injunctions.

Elsewhere in the present issue we have dealt at greater length with these memorable events in our national history, and have endeavoured briefly to retrace the steps which led up to this great undertaking.

We extend a welcome to Dr. H. H. Rowley, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University College of North Wales, who contributes a brilliant and original article on "Israel's Sojourn in Egypt," in which he discusses, in the light of recent work, the date of the Exodus, and the date of the Eisodus. In the discussion of the Exodus, Dr. Rowley deals not only with the more usual views, but also with the recent views of Meek and Albright, and in the discussion of the Eisodus he presents a view which in part is a new one. Finally Dr. Rowley indicates briefly the significance of the view taken for the understanding of the religion and literature of Israel, with particular reference to the Decalogue.

ISRAEL IN
EGYPT.

The lecture which Professor E. Robertson delivered in the library, in December last, upon "Life in Shechem two centuries ago," the substance of which is printed elsewhere in the present issue, was based mainly upon the information supplied by the Samaritans themselves in the large number of entries in Arabic left by them in the margins and on the surplus leaves of their codices, several of which are preserved in the Rylands Library.

LIFE IN
SHECHEM
TWO
CENTURIES
AGO.

These are varied in character and include notices of births (one entry records the birth of triplets), marriages and deaths, accounts of unusual happenings, earthquakes, abnormal weather conditions, descriptions of their festivals, processions, pilgrimages to the tombs of their saints buried in the neighbourhood, etc.

By piecing entries together the tragic life story of Salamah, a Samaritan of good family, has been unfolded, revealing the high mortality rate (especially infant mortality) in Shechem two hundred years ago; smallpox is particularly mentioned in some cases as the cause of death.

Elaborate descriptions of dreams (of which summaries were given in the lecture) showed that at that period there was the promise (never fulfilled) of a development of imaginative writing along those lines.

This information has been gleaned by Professor Robertson in the course of his work on an elaborate "Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," which is eagerly awaited by scholars, and which we hope to publish in the course of the next few months.

We welcome to our pages the study of "The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire under John of Gaunt," by H. G. Richardson, which is based upon a number of recently discovered documents which illustrate the manner in which members of Parliament were chosen for Lancashire while John of Gaunt was Duke. The documents themselves, which have been printed as an appendix, are of much more than local interest, because they throw light on the whole question of parliamentary representation.

JOHN OF
GAUNT AND
LANCASHIRE.

Many of our readers will recall Mr. Richardson's study of the "Provisions of Oxford: a forgotten document and some comments," which he published in our pages in 1933, in collaboration with Dr. Sayles.

The Secretary of the Society of Genealogists, in a recent communication to *The Times*, has called attention to a scheme whereby information relating to Parish Registers, which have been transcribed, may be centralised and made available to all who are interested in these early records.

PARISH
REGISTERS.

In the past many original registers have disappeared or been destroyed by damp or fire; and until parish registers have been collected and centralised, they are still liable to these hazards.

One of the best safeguards is to have transcripts made, if printing by one of the many Parish Register Societies is not available. These transcripts might be made in duplicate, so that one copy could be preserved in the church and so obviate risk of damage by the constant handling of the original register, and

the other copy in some repository, like the repositories in the various counties, which have been appointed by the Master of the Rolls, under the Law of Property (Amendment) Act of 1924 for the preservation of manorial and other documents relating to the different counties.

The scheme of the Society of Genealogists is to compile a list of transcripts of registers in private hands, or in public libraries, which shall contain full particulars of each register. Such a list, as the Secretary points out, would ensure that no one would undertake to transcribe a parish register, of which a transcript exists already somewhere.

Already the Society has published a catalogue of over 3000 such transcripts in its own possession, and it is anxious to extend this scheme, and invites co-operation.

The address of the Society of Genealogists is Chaucer House, Malet Place, London, W.C. 1.

Under the provisions of the "Parochial Registers and Records Measure" (19-20 George V, no. 1), the Bishops are empowered to establish diocesan record offices in which any register not actually in use, and any deeds or documents of value as historical records, may be deposited by the minister concerned. In this way many of these historical records may be saved from destruction through careless and thoughtless neglect.

CUSTODY OF
PARISH
REGISTERS.

The whole matter is permissive as far as the Bishop is concerned, but his orders, once given, may be enforced in the county court.

We venture to express the hope that the Bishops will direct that a systematic inspection by competent officials be carried out in the various dioceses, with a view of determining whether the registers and other parish or church muniments are properly cared for, and are readily accessible for purposes of consultation, under the necessary safeguards. In their report the officials should be instructed to indicate what is the condition of the various registers and other documents, and in cases where there are evidences of decay from mildew or other causes, or of disrepair from careless handling, to call attention to the need for

immediate action, in order that the necessary repairs or treatment may be applied so as to arrest decay, and prevent further disintegration. The parish chest, or safe, in which the registers and papers are often stored is not infrequently the cause of the trouble, for damp and vitiated air are amongst the worst enemies of such manuscripts, since like human beings, they require air and light.

In cases where the parish does not possess appropriate and safe accommodation for their records, especially for those which are no longer in current use, they should be ordered into the safe custody of the episcopal registry or record office, or of some public repository where at all reasonable times they will be accessible for consultation.

The safe custody of vestry minute-books is equally desirable. As another correspondent to *The Times* has pointed out, these minute-books record a rich variety of incidents associated with the accounts of the overseers, churchwardens and parish constables, and in some cases developments relating to highways, drainage, and special meetings of parishioners for extraordinary purposes can be dated.

VESTRY
MINUTE-
BOOKS.

It may not be without interest, whilst writing about parish registers, to reproduce the paragraphs in the Set of Royal "Injunctions" issued by Thomas, Lord Cromwell, in October, 1538, with the authority of King Henry VIII, directing the clergy to establish parish registers.

ESTABLISH-
MENT OF
PARISH
REGISTERS.

It reads: "that you, and every parson, vicar, or curate within this diocese, shall for every church keep one book or register, wherein ye shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying made within your parish for your time, and so every man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried: and for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish, wherein

the said book shall be laid up ; which book you shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and buryings made the whole week before, and that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer as before ; and for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof shall forfeit to the said church, three shillings and fourpence, to be employed on the reparation of the same church."

" . . . you shall once every quarter of a year read these and the other former injunctions given unto you by the authority of the king's highness, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part."

A discovery of considerable importance to Johnsonian students has been made recently. The story of the find may be briefly related as follows : In an old croquet box which has reposed undisturbed and dusty for a century and a half first in the Scottish Castle of Auchinleck, and later at Malahide Castle in Ireland, Boswell's original manuscript of "The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" has been found.

JOHNSON
AND
BOSWELL.

Upon examination the manuscript showed at a glance that it differed considerably from the printed version which has hitherto passed as Boswell's.

Boswell wrote his journal during his tour with Dr. Johnson in 1773, but it remained unpublished because he could never find time to put it into shape for the printer until after Dr. Johnson's death, which took place in 1785, when the publishers clamoured for a book about the Doctor as soon as possible.

As "The Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides" was the most nearly complete of all the works he had in mind he set to work upon it. Finding, however, the job of editing it more than he had bargained for he called in a certain Edward Malone, a Shakespearian scholar of taste and tact, to help him to put in order all that he had set down in the hour of his inspiration.

Malone's ideas of good form in letters differed from those of

Boswell. He felt that Boswell had gone too far. To describe Kenneth Macaulay (Lord Macaulay's great uncle) as "most illiterate, . . ." to say of Lady Macdonald: "Sir: this woman would sink a ninety-gun ship, she is so dull, so heavy," was not altogether good manners, and the manuscript bristled with such points. Malone mercilessly blue-pencilled these passages and a great deal of self-revealing matter which shows more than any other of his writings the individuality of Boswell.

Colonel Isham, the famous Johnson collector, who published a few years ago other recently discovered Boswell material in the famous Rudge edition of eighteen volumes, has acquired the "Hebrides" manuscript from Lord Talbot de Malahide, and an edition of Boswell's own text has been published, uniform with the Rudge edition by Messrs. Heinemann at the cost of five guineas. An ordinary edition at the price of one guinea has also been issued.

For nine years in succession, generally at the commencement of the Winter Session, Professor H. B. Charlton has presented to crowded and enthusiastic audiences in the Rylands lecture theatre, one of a series of interpretations of Shakespeare's comedies, in the course of which he has done for the comedies what A. C. Bradley did for the tragedies.

SHAKE-
SPEARIAN
COMEDY.

In undertaking this survey Professor Charlton's object has been to see the comedies as a realization of Shakespeare's increasing grasp on the art and the idea of comedy. It attempts to appraise the spirit of comedy in each of the comedies, and so to work towards an assessment both of Shakespeare's comic genius and of the nature of romantic comedy. In doing this he has made it possible for many of us to see more fully than hitherto has been possible the life of men and women as Shakespeare saw it.

Shakesperian students the world over, who have been familiar with Professor Charlton's treatment of his subject, through the pages of the BULLETIN, will welcome the appearance of the collected volume of his studies, which is published by Methuen & Co. in an attractive form at the price of half a guinea.

We print in the present issue the first of a series of articles on "Robert Browning," in which Professor Charlton proposes to deal with that "greatest nineteenth-century English poet after Wordsworth," in the same way that he has dealt with Shakespeare's Comedies.

ROBERT
BROWNING.

The final volume of the new national Italian encyclopædia, "Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere, ed arti," has been issued, and the set of thirty-five volumes is now available to readers in the Rylands Library.

THE NEW
ITALIAN
ENCYCLO-
PÆDIA.

The encyclopædia has been issued under the direction of a special institute founded by Senator Treccani with Giovanni Gentile as the scientific director.

It has been produced on much the same lines as the "Encyclopædia Britannica," which the compilers had taken as their model with a desire to excel. It has taken nine years to produce, and in many respects the compilers have achieved their ambition, for it is much more up to date than its model, and it is certainly fuller and more authoritative.

It is not true to say, as one of our contemporaries has declared, that Italy alone among all the great nations had formerly possessed no work of this kind. We have before us the "Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana". Sesta Edizione corredata . . . con Suppl. del Gerolamo Boccardo, 1875-1899, which is in thirty volumes, of the same size as the new one.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :—

ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART: BEAUMONT (C. W.), "The complete book of ballets: a guide to the ballets of the 19th and 20th centuries," 8vo; CANTLEY (H. Munro), "Suffolk churches and their treasures," 4to; "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQVORVM BELGIQVE: Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art," folio; DAVIDSON (A.), "Edward Lear," 8vo; FOKKER (T. H.), "Roman Baroque Art: the history of a style," 2 vols. 4to; GALPIN (F. W.), "The music of the Sumerians and their immediate successors the Babylonians and the Assyrians," 4to; HABERLY (L.), "Mediæval English paving tiles," 4to; MARLE (R. van), "The Italian

schools of painting, 16 : the Renaissance painters of Tuscany," 8vo ; RICE (D. Talbot), "The Icons of Cyprus," 4to ; SCHUNKE (Ilse), "Beiträge zum Rollen-und Platteneinband im 16 Jahrhundert," 8vo ; ZERVOS (Christian), "Catalan Art from the 9th to the 15th centuries," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : CARTIER (A. G.), "Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes, Imprimeurs Lyonnais," 2 vols. 4to ; CHROUST (A.), "Monumenta palaeographica : Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters," folio ; CLERCQ (Abbé C. de), "Catalogue des manuscrits du Grand Séminaire des Malines," 4 vols., 8vo ; CURRIER (T. F.), "A bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier," 8vo ; FAIDER (P.), "Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la Ville de Courtrai," 8vo ; MASSIE (Joseph), "Bibliography of the collection of books and tracts on commerce, currency, and poor law (1557-1763), formed by J. Massie, transcribed from Lansdowne MS. by William A. Shaw," 8vo ; MAZZATINTI (G.) and SOBRELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia," vols. 65 and 66 : Bologna, 2 vols., 8vo ; NEWCOMBE (L.), "Library co-operation in the British Isles," 8vo ; NIJHOFF-KRONENBERG, "Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540," 8vo ; PERIODICALS, "Union catalogue of the periodical publications in the University libraries of the British Isles, compiled on behalf of the Joint Standing Committee on Library Co-operation," 8vo ; RÉPERTOIRE DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE FRANÇAISE, contenant tous les ouvrages imprimés en France et aux Colonies, et les ouvrages français publiés à l'étranger, 1501-1930," 6 vols., 8vo ; SSU-YU-TENG and K. BIGGERSTAFF, "An annotated bibliography of selected Chinese reference books," 8vo ; THOMSEN (P.), "Die Palästina-literatur : eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung," 5 vols., 8vo.

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1703, to Sept. 6, 1704, containing interesting details respecting the Island, trading in negroes, shipping, etc. 270 pp. Folio. From the Calwich Library. Calwich was purchased by the Grenvilles in 1738.

Building accounts. A collection of seventy bills of bricklayers and carpenters for work done in Brentford and Old Brentford from 1740 to 1802.

"Postilla studentium Pragensium" of Conrad Waldhauser (c. 1320-1369). Born at Waldhausen in Upper Austria, Conrad was ordained priest in 1349. For some ten years after his ordination he devoted himself to teaching and preaching in Austria, but, becoming confessor to Charles IV, moved to Bohemia in 1360 or 1362. Here he continued his preaching, particularly in Leitmeritz and Prague, gaining great popularity. His outspokenness led to his being summoned before the archbishop Arnest von Pardubitz in 1364, but he was acquitted. He died at Prague on 8 December, 1369. As a forerunner of Hus he is a figure of some importance, and his "Postilla," which were written down at the request of his students in Prague, deserve detailed study; they exist only in manuscript. The present manuscript, which dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century, extends to 158 folios.

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THE ROYAL "INJUNCTIONS" OF 1538
AND
THE "GREAT BIBLE," 1539-1541.

By THE EDITOR.

THE years 1938 and 1939 mark the four hundredth anniversaries of two of the most memorable events in the history of our English Bible.

The first was the publication in September-October, 1538,¹ of the second set of Injunctions drawn up by Thomas, Lord Cromwell, Lord privy seal, and Vice-gerent to the King for all his jurisdictions ecclesiastical within the realm; and issued by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, under the authority of King Henry VIII, to the archdeacons of the province and their officials, in other words, to the clergy, requiring them to provide on this side the feast —² next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, to be set up in some convenient place within the church of which they had cure, so that their parishioners might most commodiously resort to the same and read it.

This set of Injunctions was followed in April of the following year (1539) by the publication of the "Great Bible" (the Bible of the largest volume), which together with the publication of the Injunctions, formed one of the most important epochs in the history of the Reformation in England.

Considerable attention is being directed in the press and elsewhere to these events, and it will not be out of place in these pages briefly to retrace the principal steps which led up to this great undertaking.

In the five years which followed the publication of Tindale's

¹ Gee and Harding, *Documents*, p. 275; and Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, p. 815.

² Although Gee and Harding, and other authorities insert "Easter" in the space left open for the insertion of the Feast, Wilkins leaves it blank.

Revised New Testament of 1534, no fewer than four complete Bibles in English were placed within reach of the people of England: Coverdale's in 1535; the "Thomas Matthew Bible" in 1537; Taverner's in 1539, and the "Great Bible" also in 1539.

Each was the outcome of an effort to give to the English people a true account of the Word of God, on which so many current dogmas and practices in those days were said by churchmen to be founded. Each was the work of a reformer. Each was a material contribution to the Reformation, and between them they had made the Reformation in England complete.

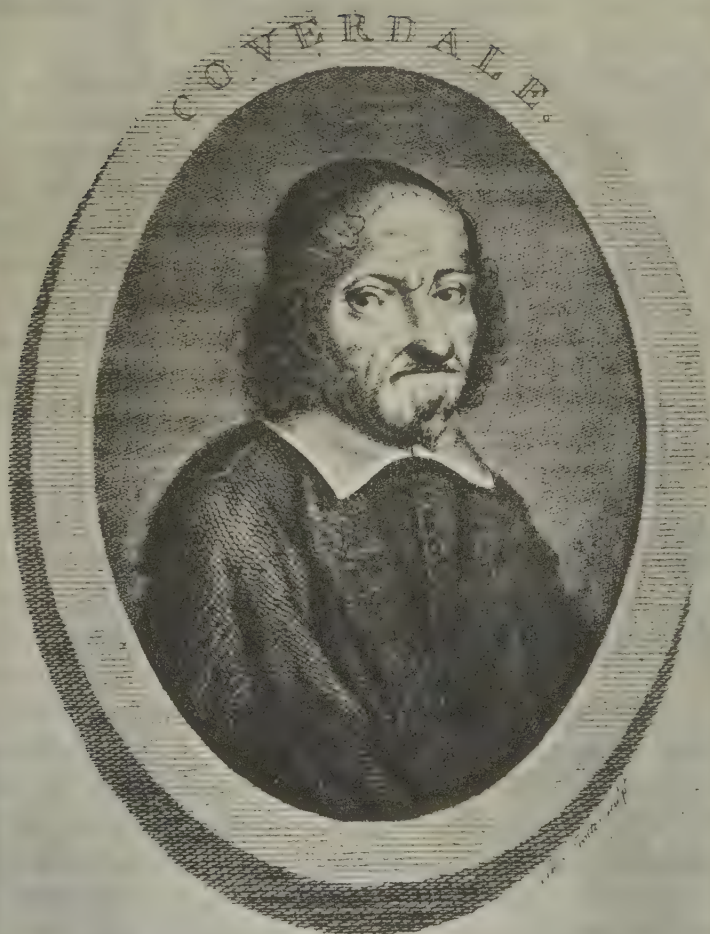
But while each of these Bibles has for us a special interest, the "Great Bible" has most, since it was the culmination of all the work in English Bible-making that had been going on from the day when Tindale set about his translation of the New Testament.

The story of the translation of the Bible into English, and of its circulation by means of the printing press is one of the most heroic and fascinating chapters in our history.

The Bible for the English-speaking nations was largely the work of one heroic, simple-minded, scholarly man, William Tindale. He was followed by an army of workers, who devoted labour, thought, and scholarship to the improvement of his translation, but in justice to him, it must be said, they have done little more than polish up and improve his work.

It is true that we now know much more accurately than was possible in 1520 to 1525 what is the true text of the New Testament, for scholarship has developed in a multitude of ways. Nevertheless, it was given to William Tindale, under God's grace, to be the first great worker. He entered deeply into the abiding spirit of the Bible by close study and intimate knowledge of the original Greek and Hebrew texts before he began to translate. He sought to render the Bible into English that his fellow-countrymen might rejoice in the same liberty and salvation which Jesus Christ had revealed to him.

In this work the fact that king and church and all in authority were against him only made him the more determined to accomplish it at all costs, and we know at what supreme cost he carried out his self-imposed task.



From a Drawing in the Possession of J. D. "Gift"

2. —MILES COVERDALE. 1488-1508.

The story of the birth and early years of William Tindale is involved in obscurity, and equally obscure is the story of the early life of Miles Coverdale, the next translator, to whom we are indebted for the first entire Bible to be printed in the English language, and who was also largely responsible for the production of the "Great Bible"

Miles Coverdale was born in 1488, and it is assumed that his surname is derived from the district of his birth, "Coverdale," in what is called Richmondshire, in the North Riding, so that, like Wiclif, he was a native of Yorkshire. (Plate 2.)

From childhood, like his great contemporary, Tindale, he was devoted to learning, and at an early age was sent to Cambridge, where he studied philosophy and theology. In 1514 he was admitted to priest's orders at Norwich, and entered the monastery of the Austin Friars at Cambridge, where he fell under the influence of Robert Barnes, well known in the early records of the Reformation.

Meetings of those who inclined to Protestantism were frequently held at a house in Cambridge near St. John's, called the "White Horse," derisively known as "Germany," because of the Lutheran opinions held there. Here Coverdale met many kindred spirits from the neighbouring colleges.

He also had acquaintances among the highest in the land and was a visitor at the house of Sir Thomas More, where he made a powerful friend in the person of Thomas Cromwell, then one of the dependents of Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards his successor in the king's favour.

Meanwhile the way had been prepared for Coverdale's great work by the publication of the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, in 1516, containing the first published Greek text and a new Latin translation in parallel columns, one of the most important events in the progress of letters. When it appeared in Cambridge it was immediately proscribed by a number of the leading scholars of the day, and one college forbade it to be brought within its walls. Yet the book they condemned was the very instrument by which God intended to promote His own designs.

One student, having procured a copy of the Testament, was

so affected by it that it produced in him a great moral change. This was none other than Thomas Bilney, "Little Bilney," as he was called, Fellow of Trinity Hall, the future martyr of 1531, whose preaching was followed by great and powerful results, for, among others, Hugh Latimer and Robert Barnes owed their conversion to him.

Barnes, after proceeding through the schools at Cambridge, had entered the monastery of Austin Friars in 1514. Having then gone to Louvain, where he took the degree of Doctor of Theology, he was, upon his return in 1523, made prior and master of the monastery, and became one of the great restorers of learning at Cambridge. He had already introduced the study of the classics and was reading Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, but being brought to the knowledge of the truth, through Bilney, he proceeded to read openly with his scholars the Epistles of St. Paul.

Some time before this, Latimer, who also had been enlightened through Bilney's preaching, was proclaiming the truth with great decision and effect. Whether Latimer was actually in expectation of Tindale's New Testament does not appear, but he was powerfully preparing the way for it, by frequently dwelling upon the great abuse of locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue.

Nicolas West, Bishop of Ely, after hearing him, was professedly impressed, but ultimately prohibited him from preaching in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese. Happily the monastery of Austin Friars was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, so the prior, Dr. Robert Barnes, boldly licensed Latimer to preach there, and, as a result, the place was unable to contain the crowds that assembled to hear him. At the same time Barnes having been invited to preach in the neighbouring parish at St. Edward's church resolved to comply.

This was on Christmas Eve, Sunday, the 24th of December, 1525. It was a memorable evening on account of its effects. Indeed, it was a crisis, for understanding now the way of truth more perfectly, and being alive to the state of things around him, and of Wolsey's extravagance, Barnes led the way in publicly

and boldly exposing the gorgeous and tyrannical bearing of the lofty Cardinal, with the result that he was immediately accused of heresy.

He was apprehended and forthwith carried to London, where he was brought before Wolsey, who, on reading the articles of condemnation, came to one personal to himself, for the accusers knew how to touch Wolsey to the quick. "What, Master Doctor," exclaimed the Cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, that my golden shoes, my pole axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you, that you must make us *rediculum caput* before the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on the stage than in a pulpit, for at the last you said I wear a pair of red gloves, 'I should say bloody gloves,' quoth you, 'that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies.'"

Whether these charges were correct does not transpire, but Barnes, as yet unmoved, replied, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the old doctors." In the end he delivered to the Cardinal six sheets of manuscript, to confirm and corroborate all that he had spoken. Wolsey, smiling, said, "We perceive that you mean to stand to your articles and to show your learning." "Yes," said Barnes, "that I do intend by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." Then said the Cardinal, "You must be burnt," and was about to commit him to the Tower when Edward Fox and Stephen Gardiner interceded and became sureties for his appearance before the bishops to whom Wolsey had committed him. During the whole night Barnes was engaged in preparing his defence, in which he was assisted by Coverdale and two other students, who had followed him to London, and wrote at their master's dictation.

At the trial he was treated with marked severity. After long disputation, threatening and scorn he was called upon to say whether he would abjure or burn. Barnes was in great agony of mind, but after taking counsel with Fox and Gardiner, to whom he was sent, he was persuaded to yield and to abjure. After a time he relented, was again condemned and sentenced to be burnt at the Austin Friars at Northampton, but contrived

to escape to the Continent and again succeeded in eluding the stake, but only for a time, since he suffered the extreme penalty in 1540, the year in which Thomas Cromwell also was executed.

Coverdale escaped personal accusation, and about this time left the monastery in order to give himself entirely to evangelical preaching, assuming the habit of a secular priest.

Early in 1528 he was at Steeple-Bumpstead, where Richard Foxe was minister, preaching against confession and the worship of images.

For a period of fourteen years (1515-1529) Henry was content to leave the real government of the country to Thomas Wolsey. The irony of this extraordinary man's career is that while all his ambitions were bound up with the Papacy, nobody did more to prepare the way for an Erastian state. By himself replacing the Pope in England as *Legatus a Latere*, and by gathering up into his hands all the reins of ecclesiastical power, Wolsey superseded the mediæval constitution of the native Church, and taught Henry to be master in his own house. He was the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen to govern England. After him the laymen began to come into their own. But during his fourteen years of power he was, by permission of the King, autocrat of England, unchecked by colleagues, by Parliament, or by Convocation. The King was content to delegate the hard work of government to a servant who was so able, industrious, and submissive to himself. When the great Cardinal fell, his master addressed himself to the task of extending his own authority through the British Isles.

The years between 1529 and 1535 were eventful years. In 1529 Wolsey was dismissed from office, the great seal was given to Sir Thomas More, and Cranmer received his first public appointment. The place left vacant by Wolsey's fall was in part filled by a layman who had been trained in the Cardinal's service, and had there learnt that the way to the King's favour was dispatch, assiduity, and subservience. Thomas Cromwell undertook the task very much in the spirit of an unemotional, unscrupulous solicitor, who handles a hard and intricate matter of business for a shady but important client. In 1533 the King married Ann Boleyn, in spite of the threats of the Pope, and

The fyrst pistle off

**S. Peter the
Apostle.**



The fyrst Chapter.

Peter an Apostle of Jesu
Christ to the that dwell here
ad there as straungers thoro-
we out/ Pontus/ Galacia/ Capa-
docia/ Asia/ and Bethinia/ eies
et by the forknowledge off God

thefather/ thoro we the sanctifyng off the spyr-
te vnto obedience and sprynklynge of the bloud
off Iesus Christ. Grace bewith you/ and pe-
ace be multiplied.

Secunde Cor. 1. Epist.

Blessed be God the father off oure lorde Ie-
sus Christ / which thoro we his abundant mer-
cle begat vs agayne vnto a lively hope/ by there
surteccion off Iesus Christ from deeth / to enioy
ye an inheritaunce immortal / and vndefiled /
and that putrifieth not / reserved in heve for you
which are kept by the power off God thoro we sa-
vyth / vnto helth / which health is prepared all res-
dy to be shewed I the last tyme / in the which tyme
ye shall reioyce / though now for a seasō (if ne-
de requyre) ye are in hevines / thoro we many fol-
de temptacions / that youre sayth once tried be-
vyng moche more precious then golde that peri-
sheth (though it be tried wth fyre) myght be
founde vnto lawde / glory / and honoure / when
Iesus Christ shall apere / whom ye have not sene

1. Thim. 1. 16.

¶ To the Reader.

Have diligence Reader (I exhortethe) that thou come with a pure mynde / and as the scripture sayth with a syngle eye / vnto the wordes of health / and of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent and beleve them) we are borne a newe / created a fresshe / and enioye the frutes off the blood of Christ. Whiche blood cryeth not for vengeaunce / as the blood of Abel: but hath purchased / lyfe / love / saveour / grace / blessinge and what soever is promysed in the scriptures / to them that beleve and obeye God: and stondeth bitwene vs and wrathe / vengeaunce / curse / and what soever the scripture threateneth agaynst the vnbelovers and disobedient / which resist / and consent not in their hartes to the lawe of god / that it is ryght / wholy / iuste / and ought soo to be.

Marke the playne and manifest places of the scriptures / and in doutfull places / set thou adde no interpretacio contrary to them: but (as paul sayth) let all be conformable and agreynge to the

Note the difference of the lawe / and (sayth. of the gospel. The one exeth and requyeth / the wother pardoneth and forgetteth. The one threateneth / the wother promyseth all good thyngs / to them that sett their trust in Christ only. The gospel signifieth gladde tydyngs / and is nothinge butt the promyses off good thynges. All is not gospel that is writte in the gospel booke: For if the lawe were a waye / thou couldest not know what the gospel meante. Even as thou couldest not see pardon / favour / and grace / excepte the lawe rebuked the / and declared vnto thy the sinne / mysdeede / and trespass.

Repeat and beleve the gospel as sayth Christ

shortly afterwards papal authority in England was formally annulled. In 1534 Henry assumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and in the following year Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the two greatest figures in that last age of Catholic England, paid the penalty of their lives for their denial of the King's supremacy. These rapid changes had a marked influence on the fortunes of the English Bible.

In 1531 Coverdale took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, and three years later he brought out his first book, *Ye olde God and the Newe*, translated from the Latin version of H. Dulichius; which was followed by a translation of *A Pharaphrase upon all the Psalmes*, through the Latin of Joannes Campensis. But for these facts Coverdale is lost sight of until the appearance of the first English Bible of 1535.

It was early in 1526 that the first copies of Tindale's New Testament had reached England. Henry and Wolsey had been warned of this threatened invasion of England by the Word of God, and they did everything in their power to defeat it. Fortunately, the enterprise of the merchants was more than a match for the power of the sovereign and the hostility of the bishops, and in spite of all warnings and precautions the Word of God was conveyed into England, packed in the heart of bales of merchandise, and there widely circulated. (Plates 3 and 4.)

It was immediately proscribed and denounced as replete with dangerous heresies by Cardinal Wolsey, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who commenced their crusade against all books of the so-called new learning, requiring all copies to be given up, and ordering a systematic search for copies to be made. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was charged to preach at St. Paul's Cross denouncing the books as replete with error. At the conclusion of the sermon, at which Wolsey, surrounded by bishops, abbots and friars, was present, great baskets of the New Testaments were brought out and burned. Wolsey was determined to strike terror to the heart of the enemy, and so rigorous was the search for copies carried out that only two copies of the first edition have survived, one in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, the other in the Baptist College at Bristol.

Three years later the King issued a proclamation against heretical books, and amongst these Tindale's writings, including his New Testament, were expressly specified. In 1530 the condemnation of these books by an assembly of learned men, after a conference of twelve days, was succeeded by another royal proclamation "against great errors and pestilent heresies, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tindale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors."

In a "Bill in English to be published by the prechours," which was issued in May, 1530, we read :

"Finally it appeared that having of the whole Scripture is not necessary to Christian men ; and like as the having of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue and in the common people's hands hath been by the holy Fathers of the Church in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberations of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to the farther confusion and destruction than the edification of their souls. And it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the King's Highness and the Prelates in so doing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue at this time, doth well. 'And I also think' (was the preacher to say) 'and judge the same ; exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.' "

In a letter written in December, 1530, by Hugh Latimer to the King, he boldly reminded Henry of his promise ; and as the faithful monitor was soon afterwards made a royal chaplain,

it can hardly be doubted that the promise faithfully expressed the intention of the King.

In 1533 Thomas Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury. This Cambridge divine, rendered great assistance to the King during the last fourteen years of his reign, and has left an enduring mark on the English Reformation. It is said that he lacked courage, and in the sordid business of annulling the marriage of the Queen he gave timid compliance. But despite this grave weakness he conferred upon the English Church two immortal services. He is the main author of the Anglican Prayer Book, to which he contributed the Litany and the Collects. By so doing he gave a strength to the newly established religion it could never have drawn from any other source.

In March, 1534, Convocation, over which the Archbishop presided, considered the question of the papal supremacy, and decided by a large majority that the Pope has no greater power or jurisdiction bestowed on him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this realm of England than any other bishop.

In November of the same year, the Church of England was liberated from papal control by the passing of the "Act of Supremacy," making the King the only head on earth of the Church of England called the *Anglicana ecclesia*.

Henry quarrelled with the Pope on purely personal and selfish grounds, because the latter refused consent to his divorce from Catharine of Aragon.

He punished with equal severity Protestants as well as Catholic dissenters who dared to doubt his headship of the Church of England.

But while he thus destroyed the power of the Pope and of the monasteries, a more important movement went on among the people, under the influence of the revived tradition of Wiclif and the Lollards, of the writings of the Continental reformers, and chiefly of the English version of the Scriptures.

The provisions of the "Act of Supremacy" (26 Henry VIII, cap. 1) may be summarised as follows: "The King is supreme head of the Church of England and is so recognised in Convocation. That title, 'the only supreme head of the Church,' is

confirmed to him and his successors who shall have power to visit ecclesiastically and to redress ecclesiastical abuses."

Henry's first act after he had assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was to appoint Thomas Cromwell, in 1535, his Vicar-general or Vice-gerent in all things spiritual, and Cranmer and all the bishops took their orders from him, especially about having the King's supremacy preached within their dioceses.

As early as 1527 Coverdale was in intimate association with Cromwell and More, and in all probability it was under their patronage that he was able to prepare his translation of the Bible. In an undated letter to Cromwell, he earnestly solicits assistance in the prosecution of his sacred studies in the following words: "Now I begin to taste holy Scriptures; now, honour be to God! I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of ancient and holy doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books as concerning my learning: they once had I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which he of his plentiful favour and grace hath begun."

Cromwell, who must have been well aware of the turn which opinion had taken, seems now to have urged Coverdale to commit his work to the press. At any rate, by 1534, he was ready "as he was desired" to "set forth," in other words to publish, his translation.

The Bible was printed on the Continent by a foreign printer, in a folio volume, in a small German black-letter type, in double columns, with illustrations and a map, under the title (Plate 5):

THE
COVERDALE
BIBLE.

"BIBLIA | The Bible that | is, the holy Scripture of the | Olde and New Testament, faith- | fully and truly translated out | of the Douche and Latyn | into Englishe. | MDXXXV. | "

The imprint states "Prynted in the yeare of our Lord 1535 and fynished the fourth daye of October."

The dedication to Henry VIII is signed "Myles Couerdale, who submits his poore translacyon unto the spirite of truth in your grace."



These are the lawes that
thou shalt lay before them.



BIBLIA

The Bible that
is, the holy Scripture of the
Olde and New Testament, faith-
fully and truly translated out
of Douche and Latyn
in to English.

M. D. XXXV.

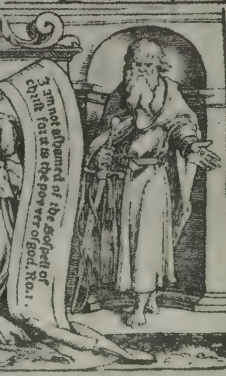
S. Paul II. Tessa. III.
Praise for vs. that the worde of God maie
haue fre passage, and be glorified. zc.

S. Paul Col. III.
Let the worde of Christ dwell in you plen-
teously in all wysdome zc.

Iosue I.
Let not the boke of this lawe departe
out of thy mouth, but exercise thyselfe
therin daye and night zc.



So your praye in to all the
woulde, & preach the Gospel.



It is not possible to ascertain the exact relation in which the first edition of the Bible stood to the civil authority. The work was undertaken by the desire of Cromwell, but when it was issued in October, 1535, he appears to have been unable to obtain a definite licence from the King; or it may be that he thought it more prudent to await the publication of the book. So much is certain that the first edition was issued without any distinct royal sanction, but was not suppressed.

It was not until 1537, on the title-page of the quarto edition "overseen and corrected," printed by James Nicolson, of Southwark, that we find "Set forth with the kinges moost gracious licence."

The Rylands Library is fortunate enough to possess two copies of the Coverdale Bible of 1535, and one of the edition of 1537.

For reasons yet to be explained it was judged better, very early in the book's history, to reprint the preliminary matter, and to add to it the somewhat fulsome dedication "unto the most victorious Prynce, and oure moost gracyous Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the eyght." It is probable that for some reason it was found that a dedication to Henry VIII would improve the chances of the book's free circulation, and so it was added.

The first leaf of the dedication in one of the Rylands copies contains the words: "your dearest just wyfe and most vertuous Pryncesse Quene Anne" (who was executed on 19th May, 1536). The second copy refers to "Quene Jane." By the month of February, if not earlier, the very name of Anne, far from being a passport to royal favour, was fatal to anything to which it was affixed. Cromwell had fallen in with the King's barbaric intentions, so that until another queen arose in the person of Jane Seymour the book may have remained unrepresented.

The place of printing and the name of the printer have never been wholly determined, though most bibliographers agree that it was printed abroad by Christopher Froschouer of Zurich.

Turning now to a consideration of the genesis of Coverdale's translation, we find that on the original title-page stood the

phrase "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche [i.e. German] and Latyn", which accurately describes the case.

Towards the end of the "Dedication to Henry VIII" Coverdale says: "I haue nether wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaūce of any maner of secte: but haue with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters, hauyng onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes."

And near the beginning of the "Prologe" he writes: "And to helpe me herein, I haue had sondrye translacions, not onely in Latyn, but also of the Douche [German] interpreters: whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes & speciall diligence in the Bible) I haue ben the more glad to folowe for the moste parte."

These quotations from Coverdale himself at once fix the character of the version. He did not profess that his work was a direct translation from the original Hebrew and Greek texts; he describes it as a translation of translations. This was the meaning he intended the reader to gather. Hence Coverdale's work has never ranked as the true primary version of the English Bible. That proud position is held by the "Thomas Matthew Bible" of 1537, which enshrined the latest results of the scholarship of William Tindale.

Modern research, based upon the sure foundation of internal evidence, has succeeded in practically demonstrating the authorities Coverdale had in mind when he wrote "fyue sundry interpreters." They were the German-Swiss version of Zwingli and Leo Juda, in the dialect of Zurich, and printed at Zurich 1524-29; the Latin version of Pagninus, the first edition of which bears the date 1528; the German version of Luther; the Latin Vulgate; the Pentateuch (1529-30), and the New Testament (1525) of Tindale. As proof of the great use he made of the latter we find that the whole of the New Testament and a large part of the Old Testament give practically Tindale's text.

The very emphatic words which stand in the first paragraph of the "Prologe," where Coverdale says: "I called to my remembrance ye aduersite of them, which were not onely of rype knowlege but wolde also with all theyr hertes haue perfourmed y^t they beganne, yf they had not had impediment,"

can hardly refer to anybody but William Tindale, and to his work. The "impediment" was the imprisonment which the heroic translator was enduring when Coverdale's Bible issued from the press, and which ended only with his martyrdom.

Internal evidence shows how closely Coverdale followed Tindale, the most striking evidence being the Epistle of James, where he departs from Tindale's 1534 Testament in only three words, going back to Tindale's earlier 1525 rendering. The Epistle of Jude stands verbatim as in Tindale's 1534 Testament. As evidence of the influence of the Zurich Bible Dr. Westcott adduces the Book of Malachi, where in many places Coverdale follows that authority against both the Hebrew and the Vulgate.

Although Coverdale's is but a secondary translation, a version derived from other versions, its importance in the history of the English Bible is very great. We cannot too carefully bear in mind that in three-fourths of the Old Testament this was the first printed version presented to the English reader. Throughout this large portion of the Bible Coverdale for the present stands alone. The New Testament, also, which is chiefly based on Tindale's translation, as we have already shown, has considerable literary merit, and many charming touches in the authorised version of 1611 belong to Coverdale.

The most interesting portion of Coverdale's Old Testament is the Psalter. It is hardly too much to say that this portion is still familiar to all who read the *Book of Common Prayer*, for the Prayer Book Psalter is in essence the Psalter of the Coverdale Bible of 1535, and has obtained an abiding place in the literature of the English-speaking peoples, affecting the religious life of the generations of Englishmen, to whom, since Coverdale's day, it has become familiar.

In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, under the heading "The order how the Psalter is appoynted to bee redde," it is stated, "where any Psalms are appointed the nombre is expressed after the greate English Bible." The Psalter is not printed at the end in the Prayer-Books of 1549 and 1552, after the modern fashion, but a psalm appears as an Introit before every collect. A careful scrutiny of these at once reveals the fact that

they are taken *verbatim et literatim* from the "Great Bible" of 1539, incorporating also the changes made in the various editions between 1539 and 1541. The Psalter as read is substantially the same as that printed in 1535, and actually the same as that printed in the "Great Bible."

As the result of a comparison of the Psalms of the 1535 Bible with the text of the Zurich German-Swiss Bible of 1524-1529, it has been clearly established that the Zurich version was the genesis of the translation, and that Coverdale followed it very closely, but there is evidence that he worked also with the Vulgate of Sebastian Münster of 1534-35, and the changes he made in the 1539 "Great Bible" are due to this version, upon which he evidently relied.

Out of the seventeen verses in the Prayer Book version of Psalm xc, a very difficult Psalm, twelve stand exactly as they stood in 1535; in the six psalms, xc-xcv, the amount of difference is little more than two words in each verse. The numbering of the Latin version is retained so that Psalm ix is joined with x, Psalm cxiv with cxv; cxvi and also cxlvii are divided into two. In each case a note of explanation is supplied. The greater freedom of the translation, the introduction of words which may make the sense clearer, the tender rhythm, for the sake of which expansion and paraphrase are not unfrequently adopted, are characteristics which with many go far to atone for the inferiority of the version in point of exactness. A multitude of passages, remarkable for beauty and tenderness, and often for strength and vigour, are common to both our versions of the Psalms, and are due to Coverdale.

For the illustrations sixty-eight separate wood-blocks were employed, but by being used twice or thrice, and in one case as often as eleven times, they are made to form no less than one hundred and eighty-eight distinct pictures. This practice is most noticeable in the Apocrypha, where, including the title, eleven blocks are made to do duty for thirty-three illustrations. A battle scene is used five times, a hand-to-hand conflict five times, and the storming of a city seven times in the eighty-three pages.

Between parts one and two is a map measuring 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, printed from a wood-block, the headline of which reads :

"*Descriptio Terrae Promissionis Quae Alias Palestina, Canaan, Vel Terra Sancta Nuncupatur.*" Very few copies of this map are known to exist. It is drawn so that the top is towards the south and the bottom towards the north.

In 1536 Henry called a new parliament, the opening of which took place on the 8th of June, just about four months before Tindale received the crown of martyrdom, and Cranmer resolved to try what a sermon could effect at the opening of Convocation, which met on the day after the assembling of Parliament, and Latimer was appointed to preach before Convocation.

In the course of two sermons preached by Latimer on the 9th of June, from the parable of the Unjust Steward, the keen and searching power of which had seldom if ever been equalled, he bore testimony to the piety prevailing among the people of England, and inveighed against the clergy, not only for the little they had done to promote that piety, but for the opposition they had offered to the cause of truth. He concluded his discourses by saying :

Come, go to, my brethren, go to, I say again, and once again go to, leave the love of your profit ; study for the glory and profit of Christ, seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth at the last something that may please Christ—Preach truly the Word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye children of the light, while ye are in the world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come, bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to whom be all honour, praise and glory.—Amen.

This stringent and intrepid discourse must have been as gall and wormwood to many who were present, but it was certainly meet, that some such address should salute their ears and at such a time as this. It was fit that they should be told when thus all assembled to hear, that already there were among the people many children of light, while they had not yet done one thing whereby the inhabitants of England had profited one hair. It was fitting that Tunstall should be reminded thus publicly of his miserable injunction of 1526, of his torturing examinations of 1528, and of his burning of the Sacred Volume in 1530, nay that in the very Saint Paul's, where after his return from Spain he had denounced the New Testament, of which now so many editions had been sold and circulated, he

should have to sit and listen to such harrowing interrogations as these.

This testimony was delivered before an assembly of friends and foes, consisting of sixteen bishops, forty mitred abbots and priors, with fifty members of the lower house, including twenty-five archdeacons, seven deans, seventeen proctors and one master of a college.

On the 23rd of the same month of June, after long discussion of a long list of what the lower house styled *mala dogmata* or erroneous doctrines to the number of sixty-seven, it was for Cranmer, Latimer and others to say what was to be done with them. The puerility and absurdity of most of the terms evince the degraded state of the mind of those who sanctioned the list; while on the other hand some of the very items proved that in the face of the most furious opposition Divine Truth had already found its way into a thousand channels. God had been carrying forward His work with secret energy.

The Vicar-general (Cromwell) commenced by stating that they had been convened "to determine certain controversies concerning the Christian faith in this realm," that the King had studied day and night to set a quietness on the Church, that such controversies must now be fully debated and ended through their determination, and he desired that they would conclude all things by the Word of God, for his Majesty would not "suffer the Scriptures to be wrested or defaced by any glosses, or by any authority of Doctors or Councils, much less would he admit any articles or doctrines not contained in the Scripture." Finally that His Majesty would give them high thanks if they would "determine all things by the Scripture as God commanded in Deuteronomy."

After much brawling Cranmer reminded Convocation that the very subject they had met to discuss as well as their own character and office forbade brawling about mere words, that the controversies now moved were not light things but the true understanding of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel, of the manner how sins may be forgiven, of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of

the Law accusing them of sin, of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify a man, or whether we receive our justification through faith, what constituted good works, what were the traditions which bound men's conscience, and, finally, whether the ceremonies which were not instituted by Christ ought to be called sacraments or no.

This assembly to a man already acknowledged Henry to be Supreme Head of the Church, and now also had made obeisance to his Vice-regent, their Vicar-general, but such was the catalogue of affairs brought forward and explained by Cranmer that it presented a field for strife and debate, and exhibited a mixture of truth and error, and he pointed out that it was necessary first to agree upon the number of the sacraments.

Such was the uproar which arose that the King was asked to intervene, and he did so by sending a message which stilled the tumult. These men he declared had been convoked not to discuss but to do the King's business.

The form which the settlement took was in that of "Articles" to which all must subscribe. Articles devised by the "King's Highness's Majesty, to establish Christian quietness among us and to avoid contentious opinions."

These, the first Articles to be propounded in England, though not composed by Henry, were carefully revised by him, and their issue was one of the first acts of the King in the exercise of his new authority. After simply allowing the particulars of the Christian faith to be contained in the Scriptures, by joining with them the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, they comprise nine propositions: Baptism, Penance, Sacrament of the Altar or Mass, Justification, Images, Honouring of Saints, Praying to Saints, Rites and Ceremonies, and Purgatory. These Articles were subscribed by 109 individuals, including Cromwell, 2 archbishops, 16 bishops, 40 abbots and priors, and 50 archdeacons and proctors, and set forth by the King's authority, and eventually printed by Berthelet in 1536.

The absurdity of this blind consent to certain propositions is obvious when it is remembered that never yet had this assembly been able to agree upon any translation of the sacred volume, nor if left to themselves would they ever have been.

Having thus professedly recognised the Scriptures as containing the essentials of the Christian faith they could not agree upon a translation into their own language, neither could they approve of that translation through which so many people were already so much better acquainted with Divine Truth than they themselves.

They agreed, however, to present a petition to the King beseeching him graciously to indulge unto his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose.

This was a convenient way of postponing the subject, but fortunately neither the petitioners nor the King they addressed were to be allowed to furnish that translation which was ultimately to become their own.

Although the Convocation of 1536 was fruitless of any benefit to the kingdom, yet when we come to the actual history of the English Bible the year 1536 turns out to have been the most remarkable year of all that had preceded it.

It seems next to incredible that in this year there should have been as many editions of Tindale's Revised New Testament as of the earlier editions in most of the preceding years put together.

Tindale could not have been altogether in ignorance of this fact, since his jailor and family were won over to his principles, and he must have been cheered by this news upon the eve of his entry to the haven of eternal rest.

During the sixteen months of his incarceration at Vilvorde he had been engaged upon the completion of his great work, and there is good reason for believing that he left behind him in manuscript a translation of the books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, and that this part was included by his friend and literary executor, John Rogers, in the "Thomas Matthew Bible" of 1537.

Following upon the publication of *The Ten Articles*, Cromwell, as the King's Vicar-general, issued a set of "Injunctions" to be observed by the deans and clergy having cure of souls.

ROYAL
"INJUNC-
TIONS."

This practice of acting by "Injunctions," or orders relating to ecclesiastical matters, was devised by Cromwell, as a means of giving effect to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction assumed to be conferred upon the crown by the Act of Supremacy of 1534.

Two sets of such Injunctions were issued by Cromwell on the sole authority of the King, the first during the summer of 1536, which was the first act of supremacy done by the King, for in all that had gone before he had acted with the concurrence of Convocation.

The following is a brief summary of its provisions :—

It calls upon the clergy, "all with the cure of souls," to observe and keep all laws and statutes for the abolition of the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm and for the establishment and confirmation of the King's authority and jurisdiction, to preach against the Pope's usurped power. The clergy are also required to explain to their people the Ten Articles lately devised with a view to securing the decent and politic order of the Church, to abrogate certain superfluous holy days, to forbear superstitious ceremonies and to teach the people that it shall profit their soul's health if they bestow on the poor and needy what they would have bestowed on images and relics. They are to procure the teaching of the Lord's prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments to their children and servants, and to encourage the proper instruction and welfare of the young. They are to provide for the due administration of the Sacraments. They are not to haunt taverns but to give themselves to the study of Scripture, and to be good examples. Because the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor all beneficed men, not being resident upon their benefices, shall distribute the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues yearly among their poor parishioners. Clergy with means are to support exhibitions in the Universities or grammar schools. . . .

It would appear that the Royal Injunctions were not observed by many of the clergy and religious persons to whom they were addressed, for the Bishop of Worcester (Hugh Latimer), on the occasion of the visitation of his diocese, and in particular of the Convent of St. Mary's House, Worcester, in 1537, found it necessary to admonish the brethren upon their intolerable ignorance and neglect, and commanded them to observe and keep inviolably a new set of injunctions,¹ which he had drawn up, and which to some extent anticipated the second set of Royal Injunctions issued in 1538.

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, p. 832.

The principal of these episcopal injunctions, briefly summarised, are as follows :—

That the King's Injunctions of 1536 be faithfully observed from henceforth.

That the prior shall provide at the monastery's charge, a whole Bible in English, to be laid, fast chained, in some open place, either in the church or cloister.

That every religious person have at least a New Testament, in English,¹ by the feast of the nativity of our Lord next ensuing.

That whenever there shall be any preaching, all manner of singing and other ceremonies shall be laid aside, and all religious persons shall quietly hearken to the preaching.

That a lecture of Scripture be read every day in English.

That no layman or woman or any other person shall be discouraged from reading any good book either in Latin or English.

That the prior at his dinner or supper every day have a chapter read from the beginning of Scripture to the end, and that in English, and shall have edifying communication of the same.

The concluding Injunction is : " that all these my Injunctions be read every month once in the chapter house before all the bretheren."

The year 1537 was also marked by the appearance of two books, one of temporary, the other of lasting importance in the history of the English Church. The " Institution of a Christian Man " was a statement of Anglican dogma, reached after discussions which occupied the bishops and divines from February to the middle of July, 1537. In this treatise, commonly known as the " Bishops' Book," the four sacraments, which had been left unnoticed in the " Ten Articles " were " found again," and made the subject of formal exposition. The treatise was submitted to the King, who informed the Bishops that not having time fully to examine it, but trusting to their wisdom he was willing that it should be read on Sundays and holy days for the next three years. The authorisation of the " Thomas Matthew Bible," however, was an event of far deeper significance than

¹ This must have been a Tindale New Testament.

the judicious compromise of the "Bishops' Book". The English Bible sank into the general consciousness of the people and gave to the movement for reform a power of permanent appeal, because it put within reach of the humblest member of the community a sacred literature of great beauty and richness.

The second set of the Royal "Injunctions," the set the publication of which we are commemorating this year, was drawn up by Cromwell and sent by him to Cranmer in a letter dated 30th September [1538], and on 11th October of the same year Cranmer issued to the Archdeacons of the Province, or their officials, a mandate for their publication.

The following is a brief summary of the Injunctions, except in the case of those relating to the setting up of the Bible and the promotion of the reading of the Bible, and the opening address, which are quoted in full. The text is given in a modernised form.

"In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry, by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head under Christ of the Church of England, I, Thomas, lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king's said highness for all his jurisdictions ecclesiastical within this realm, do for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you . . . these injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled upon the pains hereafter declared."

The [first] Injunction confirms the Injunctions heretofore given [i.e. in 1536].

The [second] Injunction: "Item, That you shall provide on this side the feast of — —¹ next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same, and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson, and the parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them."

The [third] Injunction: "Item, that you shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless, to avoid all

¹ Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, and Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, both fill in this blank by the insertion of "Easter," but I can find no authority for this; Wilkins leaves it blank.

contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture."

The [fourth] Injunction requires regular instruction to be given in the Articles of the Christian faith.

The [fifth] Injunction directs that the people's knowledge in the foregoing is to be tested every Lent.

The [sixth] Injunction requires that one sermon shall be preached every quarter at least, wherein the very Gospel of Christ shall be purely and sincerely declared, and superstitious practices such as wandering on pilgrimage, offering of money, candles or tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same, or saying over a number of beads shall be discouraged.

The [seventh] Injunction requires that in order to avoid that most detestable offence of idolatry that such feigned images as are so abused shall forthwith be taken down, and that henceforth no candles, tapers or images of wax shall be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the roodloft, the light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the sepulchre shall suffer to remain.

The [eighth] Injunction directs that where the clergy are non-resident such curates shall be appointed in their stead, who by their ability both can and will promptly execute these Injunctions and do their duty.

The [ninth] Injunction directs that no man shall be admitted to preach in any of your benefices or cures unless sufficiently licensed by the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese.

The [tenth] Injunction calls upon the clergy to recant any erroneous teaching about pilgrimages, relics, images, or any such superstition.

The [eleventh] Injunction directs that any man who withstands the tenor of these Injunctions shall be presented to the King, his honourable council, his Vicegerent, or the justice of the peace next adjoining.

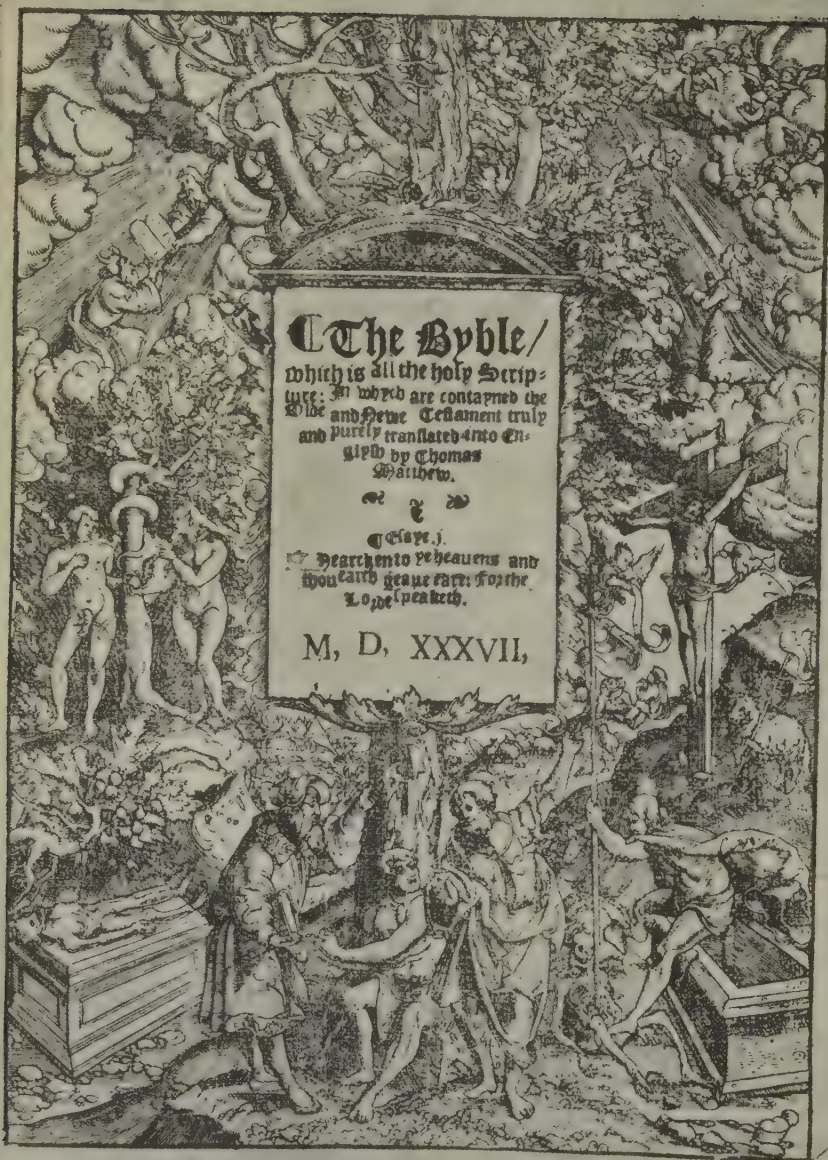
The [twelfth] Injunction requires every parson, vicar, or curate to keep one book or register for weddings, christenings, and burials made in their parishes, which for the safe keeping, shall be laid in a sure coffer with two locks and two keys, one to remain with the parson, the other with the wardens.

The [thirteenth] Injunction directs that these and the other former Injunctions shall be read openly and deliberately before all parishioners once every quarter.

The [fourteenth] Injunction deals with Tithes as by law established, which must be paid, and the clergy who neglect their duty in this respect must be reported.

The [fifteenth] Injunction declares that the clergy shall not alter fasts or services as prescribed without authority, except the commemoration of Thomas à Becket which shall be clean omitted, and the ferial service used instead.

The [sixteenth] Injunction requires the abandonment of the knelling of the *Aves* after service and at other times, which was begun by the pretence of the Bishop of Rome's pardon.



Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence.

The [seventeenth] Injunction : Whereas in times past it was the custom in divers places in their processions to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints that they had not time to sing the good suffrages in the Litany *Parce nobis Domine* and *Libera nos Domine* ; it is better to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages.

The Injunctions conclude with the following charge : " All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you and to your successors, by the king's highness's authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of the fruits, or such other coercion as the king's highness, or his vicegerent for the time being, shall be seen convenient."

Meanwhile, in August, 1537, the " Thomas Matthew " Bible, which was the second complete Bible to appear in the English language, was brought out under the superintendence of John Rogers, the friend of William Tindale. It is a composite book, made up of Tindale's Pentateuch and New Testament of 1534, and from Deuteronomy to the end of the second Book of Chronicles from the manuscript translation left behind by Tindale. The rest is from Coverdale's Bible, excepting the Prayer of Manasses in the Apocrypha, which was translated by Rogers from the French Bible of Olivetan, printed at Neufchastel, in 1535. (Plate 6.)

John Rogers was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century, he took his B.A. degree at Cambridge in 1525, and seven years later obtained a rectory in London. He left London during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, and took up his residence at Antwerp, where he acted as Chaplain to the English Company of Merchant Adventurers, an office which had previously been held by Tindale. He remained abroad for some years after the death of his friend. In 1548 he returned to England, held several livings in succession, and was presented to a Prebendal Stall in St. Paul's Cathedral, where he was a Divinity Lecturer, but in 1555 he was condemned as a seditious preacher and put to death.

Thomas Matthew was either the name assumed by Rogers when at Antwerp, or a pseudonym adopted to conceal the fact that a considerable part of this Bible was the translation of

Tindale, whose writings had been condemned by the English authorities.

There is now little doubt that this Bible was printed at Antwerp by Matthew Crom. It is a large folio volume, enriched with nearly eighty woodcuts and the pages of print measures twelve inches by six and a half. The first title runs :

“☪ THE BYBLE | which is all the holy Scrip- | ture : In which
are containned the | Olde and Newe Testament truly | and purely
translated into En- | glysh by Thomas | Matthew. |

“☪ Esaye. j. | Harken to ye heauens and | thou earth geaue
eare : For the | Lorde speaketh. | M,D,XXXVII.

“SET FORTH WITH THE KINGES MOST GRACIOUS LYCĒCE.”

This title is printed in the centre of a fine and elaborate woodcut, which conveys the lesson that the Law condemns and leads to death, while looking to the crucified Saviour redeems and saves.

Nothing can take from Coverdale the glory of having set forth the *editio princeps* of the English printed Bible ; nothing can rob Tindale of the honour of having given to the English Bible its literary form. Hence it was, that although Coverdale's Bible was issued in 1535 it was speedily supplanted by the large folio Bible of 1537.

Strange to say, the King's licence was extended to this Bible, although the most cursory inspection must have revealed Tindale's connexion with the book. This protection was obtained at the suit of Archbishop Cranmer, who in 1534 had tried in vain to induce the bishops to undertake a translation of the Bible. Having failed in his endeavour, the Archbishop, in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, Chief Secretary of State, dated 4th August, 1537, begs him to read the book, a copy of which he sends with the letter assuring him that, so far as he has examined the translation, it is more to his liking than any translation heretofore made. He prays Cromwell to exhibit the book to the King, and to obtain from him a “ licence that the same may be sold, and redde of every person, without danger of any acte, proclamacion, or ordinaunce heretofore granted to the contrary, until such tyme that we, the Bisshops, shall set forth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after Domesday.”

As a translation Matthew's Bible was of greater merit than Coverdale's, but it was accompanied by prologues and notes of the editor's own, which were too fierce and free to be palatable to all sorts of people. Like Tindale, Matthew or Rogers was a zealous and extreme reformer, who, ultimately during the reign of Queen Mary, in her persecution of the Protestants, in 1555, suffered martyrdom for his opinions.

Cromwell probably, and Cranmer possibly, did not know that this "New Translation" was so largely Tindale's work. Cromwell laid the book before the King, obtained the royal licence, and it at once began to circulate. This book having been printed abroad, could only find an entrance into England by being sold complete in sheets to some English printer, hence the expenses of the edition of 1500 copies were borne by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who were later to play such an important part in the production of the "Great Bible."

Neither of the two Bibles of Coverdale and Matthew was altogether satisfactory. The inaccuracy of Coverdale's version caused it to lose ground, and the boldness of Matthew's notes was unpalatable. It was necessary, therefore, to meet a widely felt want by revising all the existing translations.

Richard Taverner, an excellent Greek scholar, was induced to undertake the work. Like Frith, Taverner had
TAVERNER'S
BIBLE. been selected by Wolsey as a fellow of Cardinal College, Oxford, now Christ Church. He was arrested on the charge of reading Tindale's Testament, but being released studied law, was admitted to the Inner Temple, and coming into contact with Cromwell, while the latter was Chancellor of Cambridge, in 1537 became Clerk of the Signet to Henry VIII. Taverner, who was a graduate of Cambridge, was attracted to Oxford by the fame of Cardinal Wolsey's College, where he would find congenial society with men of the "new learning," and the love he afterwards showed for the Greek language and literature no doubt was here implanted in his breast.

Such little time was given him for the work that he did little more than correct the English of Matthew's Bible by the Vulgate, and suppress many of its notes. He explains in his

dedication how absurd it was for any one to suppose that a faultless translation of the Bible could be made in a year's time by a single man.

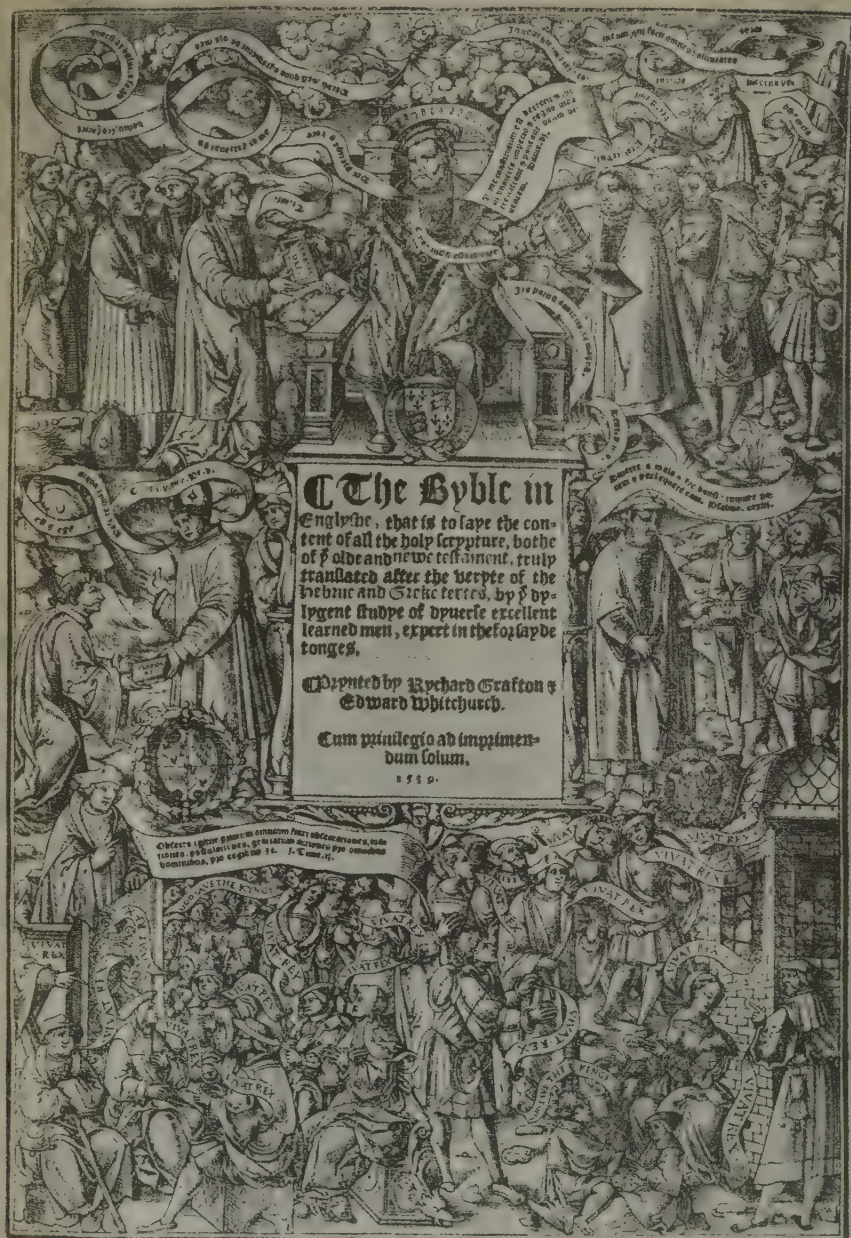
The Bible was printed "at London by John Byddell for Thomas Barthlet" in 1539, and was allowed to be read in the churches, but it exercised very little influence on subsequent versions.

In the course of time the true history of Matthew's Bible came to be known, and the King's advisers realised the very unpleasant fact, that in procuring for it a royal licence they had befooled the King. With the deliberate advice of the fathers of the spirituality his Majesty had ordered Tindale's translations to be burned as replete with error, and he had employed an agent to search for Tindale and apprehend him as a preacher of heresies and sedition. And yet the King had been persuaded, unawares, to grant a licence for the circulation of what was practically Tindale's translation. It was extremely awkward for Henry's advisers. When Cromwell and Cranmer discovered the real import of their act they set to work, as quickly and as quietly as possible, to minimise the effects of the licence.

Cromwell resolved to supersede Matthew's Bible by a new version, the basis of which should be Matthew's version shorn of its polemical annotations. The execution of this project was entrusted to Coverdale, who had given proof of his moderation and courtesy in the treatment of ecclesiastical questions.

We now find Coverdale in Paris, engaged under Cromwell's direction and patronage upon Biblical work, and in 1538 the printer Nicolson at Southwark produced two editions of a Latin and English New Testament in order that readers might be able to compare the Vulgate and English versions.

Coverdale was in hearty accord with Tindale and others in the defiance of the Romanist conservative forces, then all-powerful in the church life of England. But he was at heart a man of peace, and he was willing to go great lengths to assure the timid, and to draw over the wavering. For these good ends he prepared this edition of the New Testament, giving, side by side with the Latin Vulgate text of that day, a very literal English version, which differs from his former translation.



The first of these two editions is a handsome well-printed volume, but so full of blunders that when Coverdale received it in July, 1538, while superintending the printing of the "Great Bible" at Paris, he put to press, in that city, a more accurate edition, which was finished in November. Nicolson then produced another edition, in spite of Coverdale's remonstrance, and placed upon the title-page the name of "John Hollybush." It differs from the first, but is also very incorrect.

As long as Cromwell lived, Coverdale seems to have retained a close connexion with his patron, who had charged him with the duty of preparing another Bible, differing in some important respects from the two already in circulation: his own of 1535 and that bearing the name of Thomas Matthew, neither of which was felt to be satisfactory. The latter gave offence because of the polemical character of many of the notes, and also because of its close connexion with the work of Tindale, and so with the assistance of Cromwell, Coverdale undertook to revise the text of the Bible and see it through the press. The title-page of the new Bible says that it is "truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^e dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges." These words do not mean, as they might, that the version was a new translation, executed by a body of competent scholars collected for the purpose, but that Coverdale had availed himself of the great influential authorities, some of which were not available for the 1535 Bible. It is probable that in revising the text for the "Great Bible" Coverdale used a copy of the "Matthew Bible" of 1537, and annotated that, just as the revisers of the 1611 version are said to have annotated a copy of the "Bishops' Bible." (Plate 7.)

The excellence of Parisian paper and typography is said to have been the cause for the selection of this city for the work, or it may be that in 1538 there was no press in England competent to execute so great a task, and so the services of Francis Regnault, the famous Paris printer, were secured. There was nothing stealthy or secret in the procedure adopted. Cromwell was the patron of this special undertaking, and through his

THE
"GREAT
BIBLE."

influence a licence was obtained from the King of France, Francis I, by which Coverdale and Richard Grafton, the London printer, were authorised, in consideration of the liberty which they had received from their own sovereign, to print and transmit to England the Latin or the English Bible on condition that there were no private or unlawful opinions in the new work, and that all dues, and other obligations, were properly discharged. Under this protection Coverdale and Grafton, about May, 1538, entered into an arrangement with Regnault to fulfil their commission.

For seven or eight months Coverdale and his associates seem to have been left unmolested to proceed with their work. Bishop Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, at that time ambassador in Paris from the Court of England, was able to render most essential service by affording protection to Coverdale and Grafton, and they gratefully acknowledged, in several letters extant, his great liberality and kindness to them. Writing on the 23rd June, 1538, Coverdale and Grafton inform Cromwell that they are sending two copies of what was afterwards known as the "Great Bible" of 1539, and state that they "folowe not only a standynge texte of the Hebrue, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greke, but we set, also in a pryvate table the dyversitie of redinges of all textes, with such annotacions in another table, as shall douteless delucidate and cleare the same."

There is little doubt these two copies were conveyed to London by Bishop Bonner, who, as ambassador, had the right to travel without having his luggage examined.

In December, however, there came a mandate from the Inquisition forbidding the work. Fortunately a portion was already safe in England. Many sheets were seized, yet, even these were in large measure afterwards recovered, "four great dry vats full" being repurchased from a haberdasher, to whom they had been sold. The interruption caused a slight delay, and the result was hurried and imperfect. The Englishmen fled from Paris, and Regnault was arrested.

But Cromwell was not the man to be foiled in his purpose. Being unable to secure the accomplishment of the work in

France, assisted by Bishop Bonner, he brought over types, presses and men to England, and in April, 1539, the volume was completed by Richard Grafton and his associate, Edward Whitchurch, "cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum," and this "Bible of the largest size," as it was then spoken of, inasmuch as the type page measures $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or the first edition of the "Great Bible," was issued from the press.

The title-page of the first edition reads :

¶ THE BYBLE IN | Englyshe, that is to saye the con- | tent of
all the holy scrypture, bothe of ye olde and newe testament, truly |
translated after the veryte of the | Hebrue and Greke textes, by
ye dy- | lygent studye of dyuerse excellent | learned men,
expert in the forsayde | tonges. [¶ Prynted by Rychard Grafton
& | Edward Whitchurch. | Cum priuelegio ad imprimen- | dum
solum. | 1539. |]

Miles Coverdale was the editor and chief translator, but there is no record of the names of the "dyuerse excellent learned men" by whom he was assisted.

A number of letters from Coverdale to Cromwell are extant which throw considerable light on the history of the genesis of this book. They are dated from Paris, at the time when Coverdale, accompanied by Richard Grafton, were there to see the book through the press.

Cromwell was evidently paymaster, as Coverdale speaks of the book as "your work."

The Bible was a great improvement on that of Coverdale's of 1535; the divers excellent learned men who assisted the editor did not slavishly follow the first version.

Between April, 1539, and December, 1541, seven editions of this version were printed, each of which was more or less revised. These were printed in this rapid succession in order to meet the demand for the copies that had to be placed in the churches, and also to satisfy the general desire for them. It has been calculated that no less than twenty thousand of these great folios were thus issued.

The publication of the "Great Bible," and the injunction for its free exhibition in the parish churches marked a memorable epoch. The King, in a declaration appointed to be read by all

curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English, justly dwells upon the gravity of the measure.

This was no doubt the "complete English text of the Scriptures" provided for public use, which by the injunction framed beforehand (in September, 1538) Cromwell, as the King's Vice-gerent, required should be "set vp in sum connvenient place wythin the said church that ye have cure of, where as your parishioners may moste cōmodiously resorte to the same and reade it." It has been suggested that "Matthew's Bible" was the one intended, but there can be little doubt that it was the "hole byble of the largyest volume" that was ordered to be set up.

Bishop Bonner set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church after the King's proclamation of May, 1540, with admonition to readers to bring with them "discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour." That there should be no such number meet together as to make a multitude.

The "Great Bible" is often called "Cranmer's Bible," but without any reason. Cranmer's direct connexion with the book begins with the second edition, which made its appearance in April, 1540, with Cranmer's prologue, which henceforth was attached to all editions of the "Great Bible," of which six editions appeared in 1540 and 1541, each having peculiarities which distinguish it from the rest.

A copy of the edition of April, 1540, on vellum and illuminated, now in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, was designed for Cromwell. Another copy, also on vellum, was presented to the King by Anthony Marler, a member of the Haberdasher's Company who was responsible for the expense of printing the second edition. This latter copy is preserved in the British Museum.

On the 14th November, 1539, Henry bestowed on Cromwell, for five years, the exclusive right to grant a licence for the printing of the Bible in the English tongue. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell is extant, bearing the same date, in which the Archbishop conveys the undertaking of the printers to sell the Bible at a price not exceeding ten shillings, on condition of

receiving a monopoly of the publication. In this letter Cranmer asks "the king's pleasure concerning the Preface of the Bible," which had been sent to Cromwell to "oversee." This Bible had been committed by Henry to Gardiner and others among the bishops for their judgment. "After they had kept it long in their hands, and the King was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last being called for by the King himself, they re-delivered the book; and being demanded by the King what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the King, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the King, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the King and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend it, but for any heresy he was sure there was none maintained by his translation."

In April, 1540, the revised Bible was issued with Cranmer's preface.

Coverdale had intended to prepare as a companion to the "Great Bible," another volume dealing with many points of difficulty and interest, and with this end in view he introduced many pointing hands and other marks into the Bible. These had to be explained, and he does this in a prologue. The volume referred to in this prologue never saw the light, or, if it did, no copy is known to have survived. What is more probable is that with the fall of Cromwell in July, all hope of publishing the companion was given up, and in the subsequent editions the pointing hands and other marks were removed.

The title-page of the "Great Bible" is worthy of notice. It is said to have been designed by Hans Holbein. It served to answer the purpose of Cromwell, at the moment, in his gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Cranmer, Cromwell, and the King himself, at full length are here distinguished by their respective shields or coats of arms. At the top in the centre

the Almighty is represented in the clouds looking down upon Henry VIII, who, seated upon his throne, fills the centre of the upper third of the engraving, and is handing large Bibles, inscribed VERBUM DEI, with his right hand to Cranmer, representing the Church, and with his left hand to Cromwell representing the laity, both of them bareheaded. Below on the right hand Cromwell appears again delivering the Word of God to the laity, and on the other side is Cranmer placing the sacred volume in the hands of one of his clergy. Below stands a preacher enforcing the duty of prayer and thanksgiving on behalf of kings, and a crowd of men, women, and children fills the whole foot of the plate in a state of jubilation crying VIVAT REX, depicting the joy of all classes at the dissemination of the Bible in English.

It is sad to relate that the man to whose efforts the "Great Bible" of 1539 was due, and who in many other ways had helped to obtain for the people of this country the right to read the Bible in their own tongue, and also to possess copies for themselves, fell into disgrace. His conduct to the bishops was most overbearing, and at length retribution overtook him, for having been proved to have enriched himself by taking bribes to prevent justice and being found guilty of other malpractices, the disgraced favourite ended his days on the scaffold in July, 1540, within a few months of his creation as Earl of Essex. He was condemned under an Act of Attainder, without trial, a process of his own devising. His great friend Cranmer voted for his attainder.

After Cromwell's execution, the same engraving was employed in all subsequent editions of the Bible, but Cromwell's arms were cut out from the title-page, and the shield left blank. (Plate 8.)

The engraving deserves very careful study in detail as offering a contemporary delineation of costume and of classes of people in Tudor times.

In November, 1540, the fourth edition was ready for issue, though it was not published until 1541. It appeared under strange auspices, as the title shows: "The Byble in Englyshe in the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce, and

soueraigne Lorde, Kynge Henry the VIII, supreme heade of this his church and realme of Englande: to be frequented and vsed in every churche w'in this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenour of hys former Iniunctions geuen in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the kinges hyghnes, by the ryghte reuerend fathers in God, Cuthbert [Tunstall], bysshop of Duresme, and Nicholas [Heath], bisshop of Rochester." Printed by Richard Grafton [in other copies by Edward Whitchurch]. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541."

Lest the work in which Cromwell had taken so deep an interest should suffer after his fall, other names, representing widely different tendencies and sympathies must give it warrant and authority, in place of the name of Archbishop Cranmer. In two later editions, issued in May and December of the same year, Cranmer's name reappears on the title-page.

We are not told how large were the impressions of later editions, but as the first edition consisted of 2500 copies, we may reasonably conclude that the number circulated during these years was large.

Only by an output on this scale could it be possible for every parish church to supply itself with a copy, as Cromwell had directed in the Injunctions, which as Vicar-general he issued in September, 1538, and as the King commanded afresh in a proclamation of May the 6th, 1541—the limit of date being then fixed at the feast of All Saints (1st November), under penalty of a fine of forty shillings for each month's delay.

This liberty was not of long duration, for after Cromwell's disgrace the opposite party attempted to avail themselves of Coverdale's scheme of annotations on difficult texts, for the purpose of checking altogether the printing of the Bible. Grafton the printer was committed to the Fleet, and bound under a heavy penalty not to print or sell any Bibles until the King and clergy should agree on a translation.

The plan for a new translation soon fell to the ground, for it was evident that the bishops had no real wish for a vernacular translation.

The King now directed that the universities should be

entrusted with the work, but the design was frustrated by adverse influences.

About this time Anthony Marler, a haberdasher of London, who had borne the expense of earlier editions of the "Great Bible," received from Henry a patent conveying to him the exclusive right of printing the English Bible during four years. The price at which the Bibles were to be sold was fixed at 10s. unbound, and 12s. bound, and a royal proclamation was issued forcing the curates and parishioners of every parish, under a penalty of double the cost of the book per month, to purchase a copy for the common use of the people before the Feast of All Hallows, 1540. In 1543, however, the reading of the Scriptures was by Act of Parliament placed under severe restrictions. Tindale's translations, and three years later, Coverdale's Testament, was placed under the same ban, and permission to read was only accorded to certain classes. These restrictions were enforced by heavy penalties. It was a reaction against the growing love of the Scriptures, which the opponents of the Reformation spared no pains to crush, but it was suddenly stayed by the death of the King in January, 1547.

On the execution in 1540 of his patron, Thomas Cromwell, and also of his friend and tutor, Robert Barnes, Coverdale found it expedient to leave England.

Shortly afterwards he married Elizabeth Macheson, sister-in-law of Dr. Joannes Macchabaeus MacAlpinus, who had assisted in the translation of the first Danish Bible.

This practical protest against the doctrine of the celibacy of the priesthood identified Coverdale with the reforming party. He lived for a time at Tübingen, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Later he became a Lutheran pastor and schoolmaster at Bergzabern, in Zweibrücken, Bavaria, where he lived in poor circumstances between 1543 and 1547, and "where by translating in his leisure hours . . . various religious works into our language . . . he is of very great service in promoting the Scriptural benefit of those persons in the lower ranks of life, who are anxious for the truth."

During Coverdale's exile he took the name of Michael Anglus.

In the proclamation of the 8th of July, 1546, Coverdale's Bibles and other works appeared among those books forbidden to be imported, bought, sold, or kept.

As soon as Henry had "ceased from troubling," in January, 1547, the zeal for the art of printing burst forth afresh. Of the forty-five printers who had started to print in London, during the thirty-eight years of Henry's reign, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne, and within twelve months of his accession eight new men had started in business as printers, and in the brief space of the succeeding six years the numbers of printers had risen to fifty-seven. What is interesting to remark is that of these fifty-seven printers not fewer than thirty-one, and those the most reputable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the Sacred Scriptures.

Before the end of 1547 an Act was passed by both Houses of Parliament, for the restoration of the Communion Cup to the laity. This change rendered necessary a slight addition to that part of the service which regulated the communion of the laity, and the opportunity was taken of preparing a short English office both of preparation and communion. An English "Order of Communion" was issued under royal authority on the 8th of March, 1548. In January, 1549, the first Act of Uniformity was passed, and appended to it was the first English "Book of Common Prayer," which included the new "Order of Communion."

This "Order of Communion" reached Frankfurt during the fair time, and Coverdale translated it into German and Latin. The latter was sent to Calvin with a hope that he might cause it to be printed, but this was not done.

Coverdale returned to England in March, 1548, was well received at court, through the influence of Cranmer, and was appointed chaplain to the King and almoner to Queen Catherine, whose funeral sermon he preached in September of that year.

In 1549 Whitchurch printed the second volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, with a dedication by Coverdale, who assisted in the translation.

He was one of thirty-one persons to whom was issued in January, 1550, a commission to proceed against anabaptists as

well as those who did not administer the sacraments according to the "Book of Common Prayer."

In 1550 there appeared a translation of Otto Wermueller's "Spyrytuall and moost precious Pearle," with a commendatory preface by the Protector Somerset, who alluded to the consolation he received from the book but did not mention the author or the translator. These are specially mentioned, however, by H. Singleton, who reprinted the "Pearle," with the following prefatory note: "I have thought it good to set it forth once againe, according to the true copy of that translation that I received at the hands of M. Doctour Milo Coverdale, at whose hand I received also the copies of three other works of Otto Wermullerus . . . 'The Precious Pearle,' which the author calleth of 'Affliction,' another of 'Death,' the third of 'Justification,' and the fourth of 'The Hope of the Faithful,' these I have imprinted." Of these the original editions seem to have been printed abroad.

On July the 20th, 1550, Coverdale received a gift of forty pounds from the King, and on the 24th of November he preached Sir James Welford's funeral sermon at Little Bartholomew's in London.

When Lord Russell was sent down against the western rebels, in 1551, Coverdale accompanied him to assist the secular arm with his preaching, and he subsequently delivered a thanksgiving sermon after the victory. His behaviour in Devonshire gave great satisfaction.

On the 7th of March, 1551, he preached at Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the funeral of Lord Wentworth, and went with Peter Martyr and others, on the 19th of May, of the same year, to visit Magdalen College, Oxford.

He acted as coadjutor to John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, who resigned his see in 1551, and Coverdale was appointed to the bishopric by the King's letters patent, on the 14th of August of the same year. He was consecrated at Croyden on the 30th of the month and was enthroned on the 11th of September. Cranmer specially interested himself in this appointment. He was one of the eight bishops and twenty-four other persons, who were appointed in the same year, to reform the ecclesiastical laws.

John Vowell, the historian, tells us that Coverdale "most worthilie did performe the office committed unto him, he preached continuallie upon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twice in the weeke, in some church or other within this citie." He was hospitable, liberal, sober, chaste, and modest. "His wife was a most sober, chaste, and godlie matron."

On his accession to the episcopal bench he was very constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, during the Parliaments of 1552 and 1553.

The young King Edward VI died of consumption on the 6th of July, 1553, when barely sixteen years of age, and on the 28th of September following, Coverdale was deprived of his see, and John Voysey was reinstated as Bishop of Exeter.

Coverdale was required to find sureties, and when the protestant prisoners drew up a declaration about a proposed disputation between them and certain Roman Catholic champions, he signed in order to signify his consent and agreement.

At the instance of Dr. J. Macchabaeus MacAlpinus, Coverdale's brother-in-law, Christian III, King of Denmark, wrote a letter to Queen Mary, dated the 25th of April, 1554, on Coverdale's behalf. In her reply the Queen stated that he was only charged with a debt due to the Treasury; but a second appeal from King Christian (24th Sept.) brought permission to him to leave England for "Denmark, with two of his servants, his bagges and baggage without any theire unlawful lette or serche." One of the two servants is supposed to have been his wife. He was cordially received by his brother-in-law, and the King offered him a benefice, which, however, was not accepted.

He then went to Wesel in Westphalia, where there were many English refugees, and for some time he preached there, until he was sent for by the Duke of Zweibrücken, to undertake the pastoral charge of Bergabern once more.

It has been stated that he assisted in the preparation of the Genevan version of the Bible. It is true that he was in Geneva in December, 1558, when he signed a letter to those of Frankfort in congratulation at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, praying that all private dissensions should be set

aside, but Coverdale had returned to England before the first edition of the Genevan Bible made its appearance in 1560, as he preached at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November, 1559, and again on the 28th of April following, before the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and a large congregation.

In spite of his deprivation in the previous reign Coverdale assisted, with other bishops, at the famous consecration of Archbishop Parker, on the 17th of December, 1559. It is possible that it was owing to his scruples about vestments that he did not again take the bishopric of Exeter, on the deprivation of Turberville in 1559.

In 1563 Coverdale obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from the University of Cambridge, and in the same year he recovered from an attack of plague.

On the 3rd of March he was collated to the living of St. Magnus, close to London Bridge, by Grindal, who petitioned the Queen to release him from the payment of first-fruits, which came to more than £60, a request which was ultimately granted.

Grindal, who had a very high opinion of Coverdale's piety and learning, offered him other preferments, and endeavoured to obtain his appointment as bishop of Llandaff, but his objections to vestments and other failings in uniformity stood in the way.

On the 10th of April, 1564, he was given power by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to admit Grindal as Doctor of Divinity, and in the same year he published his last book: *Letters of Saints and Martyrs*.

In 1566 the Government determined to enforce a stricter observance of the liturgy, and Coverdale resigned his living. Many of those who attended the churches of other deprived London ministers "ran after Father Coverdale who took that occasion to preach the more constantly, but yet with much fear, so that he would not be known where he preached, though many came to his house to ask where he would preach next Lord's day." He preached on eleven occasions, between the 1st of November, 1567, and the 18th of January following, at the Church of the Holy Trinity in the Minories.

There is considerable difference of opinion among his

biographers as to the date of Coverdale's death, but the register of burials of St. Bartholomew's places the burial on the 19th of February, 1568, and Thomas Fuller in copying his epitaph, gives the date "1568, Jan. 20" as part of it.

He was eighty-one years of age when he died. He was a celebrated preacher, admired and followed by all the puritans, but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave.

He was buried at St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave by vast crowds of people.

His epitaph

"Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum,
Ossa Coverdalis mortua tumbus habet.
Exoniæ qui Præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit & unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.
Obiit 1568. Jan. 20."¹

was copied by Fuller from the brass inscription on his marble tombstone under the communion table in the chancel, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of London. The church was pulled down in 1840 to make way for the New Exchange, but what were thought to be his remains were carefully reburied on the 4th of October, 1840, in a vault in the south aisle of the Church of St. Magnus, where the parishioners in 1837 had erected a monument to his memory.

A portrait of Coverdale, engraved by T. Trotter from a drawing at one time in the possession of Dr. Gifford, is contained in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, and has been re-drawn and re-engraved on several occasions. This we reproduce although its authenticity is said to be doubtful.

The name of Coverdale will always be honoured as the man who first made a complete translation of the Bible into English. He was not a figure of marked historical interest. He was somewhat weak and timorous, and all through life he leaned on more

¹ Fuller, T., *Church History*, 1655, ix, 65.

powerful natures. Barnes, Cromwell, Cranmer, and Grindal were successively his patrons. In the hour of trouble he was content to remain in obscurity, and left the crown of martyrdom to be earned by men of tougher fibre. But he was pious, conscientious, laborious, generous, and a thoroughly honest and good man. He did little original literary work. As a translator he was faithful and harmonious. He was well read in theology, and became more inclined to puritan ideas as his life wore on. All accounts agree as to his remarkable popularity as a preacher. He was a leading figure during the progress of the reformed opinions, and had a considerable share in the introduction of German spiritual culture to English readers in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

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CICERO AND THE ROMAN CIVIC SPIRIT IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY RENAISSANCE.¹

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WHOEVER studies the influence of Cicero on later generations, will be surprised by the variety of effects which were produced in history by this one figure. Although modern scholars have frequently investigated this influence, important aspects of it have as yet remained undiscovered.

During the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance, one of these aspects was that of Cicero as a Roman statesman who lived his life in the service of the 'Respublica', and wrote his literary works in order to create a culture and a practical philosophy suitable to citizens in the midst of an active life. Although in the modern descriptions of medieval and Renaissance culture this part of Cicero's influence is scarcely mentioned,² knowledge of it is indispensable for a correct interpretation of humanism.

In the course of history there has perhaps been no other philosophic writer whose thinking was as closely connected with the exigencies of civic life as that of Cicero. When the Roman Empire came into contact with the culture of the Hellenistic world, a tendency prevailed in Greek philosophy to seek the inner independence of the 'sage' through tranquil studies in a private existence, far from the cares of public life. In Cicero's

¹ An amplification of a lecture delivered in Manchester on the 24th February, 1938, and a résumé of some preliminary studies for a book to be entitled *The Legacy of Cicero and the Formation of Humanism*.

² This is even true of the two most important works on Cicero's influence, Th. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1929; and A. Hortis, 'M. T. Cicerone nelle opere del Petrarca e del Boccaccio', in *Archeografo Triestino*, N.S. vol. VI, 1879-80.

days, amid the confusion of the endless civil wars, many Romans were anxious to learn from Greek philosophy that there was another worthy life to be led, besides that of a politically minded Roman citizen. It was Cicero's work as a writer to counteract this development in Rome. His ethics recalled citizens to public life. He set himself the task of adapting the Greek spirit of philosophical investigation to the needs of Roman citizens who did not turn away from public work and political action.

All the expressions of a politically minded philosophy which could be found in Greek literature, in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Dicaearchus and Panaitios, were carefully collected in Cicero's writings. Whenever it was possible, they were given a Roman setting. Corresponding utterances were frequently ascribed to the Great Romans of the past. In *De Republica* and in the *Tusculans* Cicero attributes to the elder Brutus and to the Pontifex maximus Scipio Nasica these words: 'The sage is never a private individual' ('numquam privatum esse sapientem'); 'when the liberty of the citizens is at stake, nobody can remain a private person'. In *De Officiis* 'prudentia', the virtue fundamental to a life of contemplation and scholarship, is described as inferior to 'iustitia', 'fortitudo' and 'moderatio', the virtues of active life. Whoever thinks it to be the duty of a philosopher to disdain civic ambition for honours in the army and the state, does not deserve admiration but blame. It may be that a man who withdraws from public activities for the sake of studies and literary work sometimes leads a valuable life. But 'more fruitful to mankind, and more suitable to greatness and renown', so runs the Roman creed of *De Officiis*, 'are the lives of those who apply themselves to statecraft and to great enterprises'. Such passages were read together with the famous words in the *Somnium Scipionis*, in which Cicero says that 'nothing on this earth is more agreeable to the God who rules the Universe, than the "concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati quae civitates appellantur"'.¹ All these expressions of Cicero's Roman thought were to leave a deep impression on the minds of later generations.

¹ *De Rep.* II, 25, 46; *Tusc.* IV, 23, 51; *De Off.* I, 6, 19; I, 21, 70-71; *De Rep. (Somn. Scip.)*, VI, 13.

The study of philosophy could only be justified in Roman eyes in the light of the interpretation that intellectual work was in itself 'activity', and that it led to an exertion of human energy no less than the activity of civic life. Such a conception of intellectual work was by no means incompatible with the spirit of Greek philosophy. Among the early followers of Aristotle there had already been a dispute on the respective merits of contemplative and active life. Theophrastus, wishing to extol contemplation, had formulated the impressive paradox that the sage is never less lonely than in solitude. In solitude his intellect comes into contact with the wise men of all times; while he is far from human companionship, he is near to God.¹ In Rome, Scipio Africanus Maior was said to have used the same paradox to justify his own leisure after his great political deeds. In Cicero's *De Republica* this paradox is the key to the true Roman 'otium'. 'He was never less alone than when he was alone', says Scipio Africanus of himself in *De Republica*, he 'never did more than when he was doing nothing'.² From this Cicero concluded at that time that Scipio, the great statesman, had found in philosophic studies in solitude a new source of highest intellectual activity.

But Cicero continued to probe the problem of this active Roman leisure. Ten years later, in *De Officiis*, he achieved another explanation of Scipio's paradox and gave it the form in which it was known to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, when for many centuries *De Republica* was lost. The Cicero of *De Officiis* perceived that the victor of Zama could not have

¹ 'Sapiens autem numquam solus esse potest. Habet secum omnes qui sunt, qui umquam fuerunt boni, et animum liberum quocumque vult transfert. Quod corpore non potest, cogitatione complectitur. Et si hominum inopia fuerit, loquitur cum Deo. Numquam minus solus erit, quam cum solus erit.' These ideas of Theophrastus have been preserved in Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, cf. p. 79 n. 3 below. That Scipio's paradox, handed down by Cicero (and by Cato before him, in Cato's *Origenes*), was suggested by Theophrastus is obvious. It is sufficient to compare Cicero's text (cf. next note) with the words of Theophrastus in the form given to them by Jerome, and to remember that Cicero was familiar with the dispute between Theophrastus and Dicaearchus as to the respective merits of 'vita activa' and 'vita contemplativa'.

² *De Rep.* I, 17, 27 ('Africanum . . . scribit Cato solitum esse dicere . . . de se . . . numquam se plus agere, quam nihil cum ageret, numquam minus solum esse, quam cum solus esset'.)

pursued literary aims in his 'otium'. If he attained to highest activity in solitude, this could only mean that he devoted his 'otium' to consideration of the vast plans which guided him in building up the Roman Empire. 'In otio de negotio cogitabat.' Cicero himself, in his long enforced 'otium' during the civil wars, did indeed lead a life of literary activity in the solitude of his country-house. But he could boast that he had not used this solitude merely to gain forgetfulness of his unhappy fate or inner quietude through contemplation. The chief task of his 'otium' had been the work of a Roman citizen for Rome. He had laid the foundations of a Latin literature, preparing the Empire of the Latin language, after statesmen had built up the political Empire of Rome. He now proudly compared his literary Roman 'otium' with the statesman-like 'otium' of Scipio. 'Leisure and solitude', he said, referring to Scipio's paradox, 'which serve to make others idle, in Scipio's case acted as a goad.' He wanted his readers to understand that they had also acted as a goad in his own literary work for Rome.¹

He wanted them to see that he himself had fulfilled the ideals he had set up in his early writings. In *De Legibus* he had already looked upon it as his own task 'to bring learning out of the gloomy depths of the studies and out of scholarly leisure, not merely into the sunlight and the dust, but also into the fighting line and the centre of the conflict'. In *De Oratore* he had shown in the figures of the great Romans of the past what culture could mean to a citizen in the midst of his daily life. Cato Censorius was here described as the type of a citizen who knew how to unite theory and practice, private and public interests. Legal studies did not prevent him from being a busy lawyer; private business never alienated him from his duties as an orator in the Forum or as a member of the Senate. Marcus Crassus, the leading speaker in the dialogue, had never discontinued his activity in the law courts for theoretical studies, and had yet attained an exceptional degree of intellectual development. He sets up as a model the citizen 'who does not impress others as

¹ *De Off.* III, 1, 1-4 ('... numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset'. 'Ita duae res, quae languorem adferunt ceteris, illum acuebant, otium et solitudo.')

pursuing philosophical studies, and yet is studying'. This, indeed, was and remained Cicero's own highest ideal of civic culture. When, in later years, he defended himself against those who questioned his ability for philosophic work after a life-long political career, he boasted that he too 'had been studying philosophy most earnestly at the very time when he seemed to be doing so least'.¹

During the Middle Ages, when the bearers of culture were chiefly clerics and monks, which part of Cicero's legacy could be less appreciated than all this Roman craving for activity and for a civic culture? Again—when in the dawn of the Renaissance the citizens of the Italian city-states longed for a laic literature and moral ideals suitable to citizens who led an active life, where could they find a better ally? The most dramatic episodes in the history of Cicero's influence were to develop from this Roman aspect of *De Oratore* and *De Legibus*, *De Somnio Scipionis* and *De Officiis*.

Generalisation in history is always difficult, and even the conception that the medieval mind was averse to Cicero as a Roman is only half the truth. As a rule the civic world of Rome was entirely forgotten in the Middle Ages. It fills us with amazement to see how often the historical figure of the Roman thinker was strangely disguised. Even in a clerical and monastic milieu, and in medieval disguise, however, we meet again and again with surprising after-effects of Cicero's Roman spirit. These effects are only like the high lights in a picture, the general tone of which is faint and uniform. But it is these exceptions which, at an early stage, reveal the tendencies destined to lead to the revival of Cicero the Roman in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Some of these high-lights were due to the commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*, which Macrobius wrote about 400. Macrobius was a heathen, at a time when neo-platonic contemplation was gaining the ascendancy in the ancient world, and his immediate aim was to prove that Cicero, in spite of his championship of active political life, had already known that

¹ *De Leg.* III, 6, 14; *De Oratore*, III, 33, 135; III, 22, 72-83, 89; *De Nat. Deor.* I, 3, 6.

religious contemplation was on a higher plane. Nevertheless the outcome of this disguise was not an unlimited triumph for Plotinus' neo-platonic contemplation. In Plotinus' original conception the 'vita politica' was nothing but a platform from which the human mind must rise as quickly as possible to religious contemplation and to the purification of the soul. Macrobius read in the philosophy of Plotinus that the path through the 'otiosae' virtues of contemplation is certainly the higher one, but that the 'negotiosae' virtues also lead to happiness, and that the best thing is to pursue both the higher and the lower path. Like Cicero himself, he found his models in the great Romans of the past, Numa the king, the two Catos and Scipio Africanus, who all combined 'sapientia' and political action. Moreover, Macrobius adopted from Scipio's dream the vision of a particular reward which awaits the good citizens and statesmen in heaven. He stressed the Ciceronian words that 'nothing on this earth is more agreeable to God' than life as lived in the 'civitates'.¹ Thus some of the most distinctively Roman conceptions of Cicero came down to the Middle Ages among the ideas and reflections of a neo-platonic philosopher. When in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries scholasticism once more had recourse to neo-platonic ideas in building up a powerful synthesis between religion and the politico-social sphere, Macrobius' modification of the neo-platonic flight from life (and not Plotinus' own philosophy) was the source from which Schostics drew their inspiration.² In the following centuries humanistic readers of the commentary felt the true Roman spirit behind Macrobius' transformation and liberated it from its neo-platonic disguise.

A similar source of true Ciceronian influence throughout the Middle Ages was the adaptation of *De Officiis* as a guide for the use of medieval clerics and laymen by St. Ambrose. This recast of Cicero's text was also primarily intended to replace the purely civic attitude of Ciceronian ethics. In St. Ambrose's *De Officiis Ministrorum* the pre-eminence of the political and social

¹ *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* I, 8, 3-12; II, 17, 4-9.

² Cf. H. van Lieshout, *La Théorie Plotinienne de la vertu. Essai sur la genèse d'un article de la somme théologique de saint Thomas*, Freiburg i. Switzerland, 1926, pp. 124 ff.

virtues is destroyed. 'Sapientia-prudentia', in open contradiction to Cicero's Roman sentiment, now ranks above all the virtues of active life. Nevertheless, in this adaptation by one of the Fathers of the Church, no less than in the commentary of the follower of neo-platonism, many features of the original Cicero have outlasted the changing times. As St. Ambrose more than any other of the Church Fathers was a Roman at heart, expressions of Cicero's Roman patriotism and civic spirit of activity frequently survived in the details of his book.

Characteristic of the method followed by St. Ambrose is the fate of the symbol which Cicero had created in the 'otium' of Scipio. Cicero's praise of an active leisure found a response in the heart of a Christian writer. St. Ambrose felt a kindred spirit in the teaching of Cicero that the best gift of solitude is not only contemplation and inward peace but the highest exertion of mental energy as a spur to action in life. Like Cicero he contrasted an 'otium' of activity with the despised leisure of men 'who distract their minds from activity in order to indulge in idleness and recreation'. But in contradiction to *De Officiis* he declared that it was not Scipio but Moses and the prophets who were the first to teach this leisure of activity. While they appeared to be alone and idle, they were listening to the voice of God and gaining strength to accomplish miracles beyond human power.¹

St. Ambrose was the first of the medieval readers of *De Officiis* who found inspiration in Scipio's tireless 'activity' in solitude for their own conception of a life of living faith in monastic seclusion. In Carolingian times, the abbot Paschasius Radbertus introduced the Roman symbol into one of the fundamental works of medieval theology. If Scipio the Roman, he said in his *Commentary on St. Matthew*, was never less idle than when he was at leisure, because in his 'otium' he was wont to think of the exigencies of his 'negotia'—'how much less should we, who have been subjected to heavenly discipline, grow weary in our "otium" of meditating on divine matters'? To whom, he said, could Scipio's words be more suitable and more necessary

¹ *De Off. Min.* III, 1 (Migne, PL. 16, 145).

than to monks in the uninterrupted 'otium' of the monastery?¹ In the end this line of thought led to the humanistic ideals of Petrarch.²

In the general picture of the early Middle Ages such highlights of genuine Ciceronian thought are few and far between. As a rule, the Cicero of the Middle Ages down to the twelfth century was disguised as a monastic scholar. The Roman citizen was doomed to be represented as a despiser of marriage and of woman, and of the cares of an active life.

The founder of this typical early medieval figure of Cicero was St. Jerome, the father of scholarly monastic humanism. Jerome, in his defence of chastity and monastic life, collected all the classical witnesses against the married state. To Cicero he ascribed the saying 'non posse se uxori et philosophiae pariter operam dare'. He even went further back and quoted Theophrastus' praise of learned solitude which Cicero in *De Officiis* had so eagerly transformed into a Roman praise of restless activity for the community. Jerome preserved for the monastic humanists of the Middle Ages Theophrastus' words that the true sage is nowhere less lonely than in solitude, where the human intellect comes into contact with the wise men of all times, and with God Himself. This utterance seemed to Jerome to be in agreement with the pseudo-Ciceronian warning against family life and woman.³

Both passages remained united in the literature of the Middle Ages. Up to the twelfth century the typical medieval Cicero was a teacher of misogyny and flight from active life. Scholars like John of Salisbury and Walter Map, following Jerome, attributed to Cicero the opinion that the true sage must live in solitude

¹ *Expos. in Matthaeum*, Prologus in lib. XI (Mon. Germ. Hist. Ep. VI, p. 148s). Similarly Radbertus makes use of the Scipio paradox in *Expos. in Psalm 44*, Praefatio (Migne, PL. 120, 995).

² An example from the later Middle Ages (twelfth century) is to be found in Giraldus Cambrensis' *Symbolum Electorum*, Ep. 24 (Vol. I, p. 281, in Brewer's edition in *Rer. Brit. M. Aev. SS.*), where the saying 'se nunquam minus solum quam cum solus extiterat esse' is, strange to say, ascribed to Socrates. With regard to Petrarch cf. p. 87 n. 1 below.

³ *Adversus Jovinianum*, lib. I, c. 47-48 (Migne, PL. 23, 276 ff.), cf. p. 74 n. 1 above.

and far from household cares.¹ A scholar like Abélard made Cicero an open opponent of the toil of active life ; he ascribed to him these words : ‘ quod (est) laboriosum, non statim (est) praeclarum ’ and ‘ gloriosum ’—thus impugning the belief that the laborious life of a secular cleric is worthier of reward than the calm contemplation of a coenobite, the struggle with the temptations of life more meritorious than monastic seclusion.² Even our finest evidence of the widespread and often enthusiastic interest in Cicero’s works in the twelfth century, the well-known *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, does not break the bounds of this early medieval thought. Although it literally repeats the Ciceronian decision that ‘ prudentia ’ is inferior to the three other cardinal virtues, the motive of Cicero’s choice remains undiscovered. Of ‘ iustitia ’, ‘ fortitudo ’ and ‘ temperantia ’, the last is given the precedence, because this virtue has the least connection with communal life. By means of ‘ temperantia ’, says the anonymous author, man rules himself, by courage and justice he rules over family and state ; ‘ but it is better for man to govern himself than to exercise any external dominion ’.³

Not till the thirteenth century did Cicero begin once more to be recognised as a Roman thinker.

At first sight it may seem strange that it was the thirteenth century which saw this change. At that time loving absorption in the works of the ancient authors was not increasing but declining. In the great age of scholasticism and the medieval universities new interests were everywhere springing up. The study of the classical authors was, as it were, restricted to a small

¹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. M. R. James, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Mediæval and Mod. Ser. XIV, p. 150) ; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (ed. Webb, Vol. II, p. 298). Webb’s reference to *De Off.* III, 1, is a mistake ; the whole section of the *Policraticus* is literally taken over from Jerome’s *Adv. Jov.* I, c. 47-48. William of Malmesbury, too, in his *Historia Regum Anglorum* (ed. Stubbs, Vol. II, p. 65, ‘ Lucubrat—sc. Beda—ipse sibi pernox in gratiarum actione et psalmodum cantu, implens sapientissimi viri dictum, ut nunquam minus solus esset quam cum solus esset ’), had recourse not to *De Off.* III, 1, as Stubbs believes, but obviously to Jerome.

² Abélard, *Opera*, ed. Cousin, I, pp. 693 f. ; II, p. 621.

³ *Moral. Dogma Phil.*, ed. J. Homberg (in *Arbeten utgivna med Understöd av Vilhelm Ekman Universitetsfond*, Uppsala, Vol. 37), p. 53.

room in an imposing edifice, the largest halls of which became the homes of the new theology, jurisprudence and science. Even in ethics and politics Aristotle, the great philosopher, came to the fore, detracting from the admiration for Cicero's stylistic splendour. It was, however, this immense extension of the intellectual horizon which threw new light on the ancient world. Like every other branch of learning, the study of the classical 'auctores' grew and increased,¹ although nobody was any longer inclined to base modern ethics on *De Officiis*, as St. Ambrose and the author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* had done in earlier centuries. Seen from a certain distance, Cicero's teachings were now compared with those of Aristotle, the Fathers, and the new medieval philosophers. In the end his Roman characteristics became visible for the first time.

Let us look at the most widely circulated encyclopædia of the thirteenth century, the *Speculum* of Vincent de Beauvais. Jerome's allegation that Cicero had said he could not serve both philosophy and woman has not been forgotten. It serves, in addition to a few other misleading statements on his political career, as the chief contribution to the characterisation of his personality. Moreover, no attempt is made to comprehend Cicero's doctrines as a unity. In order to illustrate the contrast between 'vita socialis' and 'vita contemplativa', Cicero's various sayings, detached from their context, are divided up as supporting either active or contemplative life. On the other hand, knowledge of many of Cicero's works is in advance of that of the twelfth century. The paradox of Scipio from *De Officiis* is referred to in the *Speculum Doctrinale* as well as in the *Speculum Historiale*. As evidence for the merits of active life the whole of Cicero's utterance is quoted, that 'otium' may be useful to some philosophers, but that 'more fruitful to mankind, and more suitable to greatness and renown are the lives of those who apply themselves to statecraft and to great enterprises'.²

¹ This has been proved by E. K. Rand, in "The Classics in the Thirteenth Century", *Speculum*, IV, 1929, and in "A Friend of the Classics in the Times of St. Thomas Aquinas", *Bibliothèque Thomiste*, XIV, 1930.

² *Speculum Historiale*, lib. VI, c. 8 and 11 (ed. Duaci, 1624, pp. 175, 177); *Speculum Doctrinale*, lib. V, c. 41.—True, if the copious *Extracts* taken from Ciceronian works by a certain Hadoardus had really been put together in the

The cause of this first reappearance of Cicero's civic attitude was that in the thirteenth century civic society was beginning to play a part again in literature and culture. The widening of the intellectual horizon was due to the fact that scholars and popular writers now looked upon the world from the point of view both of the citizen and of the knight, both of the secular cleric and of the monk. A cleric, writing in civic surroundings, would contemplate his studies in quite a different light from a writer in a monastic cell. He would not feel them to be a secular parallel to religious contemplation; he would consider his own literary work as a service to the community—as a parallel in the intellectual sphere to the politico-social work of a citizen.

As early as 1118 Guido, a cleric of Pisa—at that time one of the most flourishing maritime cities in Italy—had adapted a medieval cosmography to the Mediterranean interests of the citizens of Pisa. He justified his work by saying that, as Nature herself had constituted human society, the greatest part of human 'negotia et studia' ought to be devoted to its service. This was not only his personal opinion, he said, it was confirmed by the teachings of St. Ambrose, who had referred to Cicero's *De Officiis* as his authority and to other ancient writers. According to these precepts he had tried to make his contribution to human society through his literary work.¹

A hundred years later, Italian citizens began to give expression in writing to their moral ideals. In one of the earliest creations of this laic literature, the *Libro della Dilezione di Dio e del Prossimo*, written by the judge Albertano da Brescia in 1238 (i.e. a few decades before the publication of Vincent de Beauvais' encyclopædia), we find the Cicero of *De Officiis* quoted as a

Carolingian period, as it was long supposed, the knowledge of Cicero's writings in the early Middle Ages might have been greater than that shown in the thirteenth century in Vincent de Beauvais' encyclopædia. But as R. Mollweide, in *Wiener Studien*, 1911-1915, has proved, these extracts can hardly have been taken in the ninth, or tenth century; their compilation must be attributed to the last period of antiquity, probably to learned pupils of St. Jerome in Gaul, in the sixth century. Cf. also the confirmation of Mollweide's research by A. Lörcher, in *Bursian's Jahresberichte der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, 203, 1925, 153 f.

¹ *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. M. Pinder and G. Parthey, Berlin, 1860.

decisive authority in the discussion on the two different ways of life. All the other spiritual and secular authorities, it is admitted in the book, agree in favouring contemplation and the flight from active life. Christ's preference of Mary to Martha ; the teachings of the Son of Sirach and those of the apostles ; the stoic contempt of the material world, and several sayings of Cicero himself—all these warn us not to consume our human energy in toil for this transient existence. On the opposite side there is only the Cicero of *De Officiis*, boldly claiming that an existence spent in ' cose comunali e grandi ' should be considered as ' more fruitful ' than the easy life of contemplation, and that a noble mind should choose unrest and exertion in order to help the world, rather than happiness in untroubled solitude. In the eyes of this layman this one and only witness balances all the other authorities of the Middle Ages. Man, he concludes, may freely choose between the two ways of life.¹ To the judge of Brescia the Roman civic spirit and medieval contemplation are of equal value.

This civic revival of the Roman Cicero was in full swing when, in the middle of the thirteenth century, scholastic learning reached its zenith. We have a record of the textbooks which were used in the arts faculty of Paris for the baccalaureate examination at that time.² 'Moral philosophy' was divided into two sections. As far as man was considered with regard to his inner life and moral self-education, the Aristotelian *Ethics* served as a textbook. But in the sphere in which 'the human soul lives "in bono aliorum"', i.e. in social ethics, in addition to the practical study of the 'Leges et Decreta' Cicero's *De Officiis* was the guide.

The work of St. Thomas Aquinas reflects this historical position. In his *Commentary on the Sentences* as well as in his *Summa Theologiae* the chapters dealing with the importance of contemplation and active life point to the Cicero of *De Officiis* as to the sole champion of active life, just as the Judge of Brescia

¹ *Il libro dell'amore e della dilezione di Dio e del prossimo e dell'altre cose, e della forma dell'onesta vita*, ed. Milano, 1830, cap. 65.

² Recently discovered by M. Grabmann in a MS. of the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* ; cf. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, Vol. II, 1936, pp. 193 f.

had done a few decades before. By his claim that 'iustitia' should be placed at the head of all the virtues, and that there was no excuse for any contempt of positions in the state and in the army, Cicero is in disagreement with all the authorities acknowledged by St. Thomas. But Thomas, the great scholastic philosopher, with his calm and well-balanced mind, does not consider Cicero's lonely championship a dangerous challenge to the traditional picture. It is easily absorbed into the vast synthesis of thirteenth-century culture. The fair balance, Thomas decides, was long before achieved by St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, by Aristotle, who crowned his ethics with the concession of first place to the 'Bios theoretikos', and by Macrobius, who modified Cicero's Roman view with the neoplatonic teaching that a well-ordered life must leave room for a certain 'measure of escape from human affairs'.¹ The famous Ciceronian maxim from the *Somnium Scipionis*: 'nothing is more agreeable to God than the "concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati quae civitates appellantur"' loses its Roman rigour. It is transformed, or imitated and replaced by the words that 'no sacrifice is more agreeable to God than the "regimen animarum"''.²

Would this scholastic equilibrium endure, if the pendulum were to swing back to the humanistic enthusiasm of the twelfth century, if Cicero, who had now become known to the Middle Ages as the Roman thinker, were once more to be the centre of close personal interest? In the second half of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century the civic world of the Italian city-states came to the fore in European culture, and in this civic world Cicero was soon to become a most important guide in moral life, as he had been in the monastic humanism of the twelfth century.

In an anonymous Italian biography of Cicero, written after

¹ *Comm. in Sent.*, III dist. 35 q. 1, art. 4; *Summa Theol.* 1-2, q. 61, art. 5.

² It is true that St. Thomas, in *Comm. in Sent.*, *loc. cit.*, ascribes this saying to Gregorius Magnus, *Super Ezech.*, *Homil. XII*. I have, however, only found the version 'Nullum quippe omnipotenti Deo tale est sacrificium, quale est zelus animarum' there (Migne, PL. 76, 932), which does not yet show any resemblance to the words of the *Somnium Scipionis*.

1300,¹ we can observe how far the faint knowledge of Cicero's personality in Vincent de Beauvais' encyclopædia had now been intensified. Although the facts of Cicero's political career remain unknown, Cicero in this fourteenth-century biography is a Roman statesman as well as an author. 'Though Cicero devoted himself so whole-heartedly to administrative affairs and the protection of the Republic', says the anonymous biographer, full of admiration, and though he was such a busy lawyer 'that it is almost impossible to believe that human strength could suffice for all his labours, he was also filled . . . with such a desire to study and to write that it seems wonderful how he was able to develop such tremendous activity in both these spheres.'

When this historical appreciation of Cicero the Roman encountered the medieval conceptions, what could be the result but a dramatic struggle? This struggle came about with the advent of Petrarch.

Petrarch was the heir both to the culture of the Italian city-states and to medieval traditions. Although a Florentine citizen, he was born and bred in exile; he preferred, during his decisive years, life in the isolated Alpine valley of Vaucluse in southern France to that of a Florentine citizen; he was in contact with the Franciscan movement and even more with the monastic literature of the twelfth century. So it fell to his lot to wage the historic conflict, which was to emerge from the scholastic synthesis of the thirteenth century. This struggle grew all the fiercer because Petrarch, the great philologist, discovered a new key to a deeper knowledge of Cicero's personality—a key unknown throughout the Middle Ages: Cicero's intimate *Letters to Atticus*.

In 1345, when Petrarch made this discovery in Verona, he saw the historical Cicero face to face for the first time. He saw a Roman citizen, who had given up his offices in the state under compulsion, in consequence of Caesar's victory; a citizen who,

¹ It is the *Epythoma de vita, gestis, scientie prestantia . . . Ciceronis* in the famous Cicero Codex in Troyes, from Petrarch's library, partly printed in P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2nd ed., 1907 Vol. I, pp. 227 ff. De Nolhac, *loc. cit.*, p. 231, gives reasons why the biography cannot have been written by Petrarch himself in his youth, but must be the work of a writer of the early fourteenth century.

from his rural retreat, followed political events feverishly, and who, after the murder of Caesar, returned to the confusion of the civil war, to his own ruin. Petrarch, the semi-cleric and hermit of the Vacluse, shrank back in horror from this discovery. He wrote a letter full of accusation to the shade of Cicero in Hades—as strange as it was moving. ‘Why didst thou desire so much efforts’, thus he reproached his fallen idol,’ ‘and forsake the calm so becoming to thy age, thy position and thy destiny? What vain splendour of renown drove thee . . . to a death unworthy of a sage? . . . Oh, how much more suitable would it have been if thou, philosopher as thou wast, hadst grown old in rural surroundings, and there hadst meditated upon eternal life and not upon this trifling existence here below!’¹

However much Petrarch admired Cicero’s eloquence, his precepts for a cultured life, his independence of dogmatism, superstition and the errors of polytheism—Cicero’s civic spirit was to him nothing but an offence against all the traditions of the Middle Ages. In his humanistic works written in the solitude of the Vacluse, Petrarch endeavoured to stress the contrast between Cicero’s vain and restless political activities and the fruitful solitude of his old age. In *De Rebus Memorandis*, and even more in *De Vita Solitaria*, Cicero is presented as the historic example of a citizen who, against his own will, became a witness to the superiority of a solitary life. Petrarch insists that all the literary works of Cicero were written in the ‘solitudo gloriosa’ of his old age. ‘It was solitude which caused this man’s mind to open out, moreover—this is the strange and wonderful thing—it was a solitude obnoxious to him. What, one may think, would it have accomplished if he had desired it, or how greatly should a man long for that which brings such great benefit even to one who is unwilling to endure it!’²

The Cicero whom Petrarch, like his medieval forerunners, admired, was the follower of Scipio in his praise of true ‘otium’. So closely did Petrarch adhere to the medieval tradition that he adopted, side by side with Scipio’s words from *De Officiis*, St.

¹ Ep. fam. XXIV, 3.

² *De Reb. Mem.*, I, tr. 1, c. 4; I, tr. 2, c. 5; III, tr. 3, c. 13; *De Vita Solitaria*, I, tr. 3, c. 2; II, tr. 8, c. 2; II, tr. 10, c. 7.

Jerome's and Theophrastus' description of the 'sage' to whom solitude means flight from woman, marriage and communal life. The Scipio of *De Officiis* and St. Jerome are the heroes of the book *De Vita Solitaria*. But it is Scipio who is called the 'standard-bearer' ('signifer') of the new humanistic 'otium', because to Petrarch the highest aim of leisure is intellectual activity. In the book *De Vita Solitaria* Scipio's paradox from *De Officiis* is used as a leitmotif. The words of Scipio, said Petrarch, indicated what kind of solitude his choice of 'vita solitaria' meant. It did not mean relaxation or idleness, but concentrated exertion of all the mental faculties, to a higher degree than was possible in the distractions of civic life. 'The body may have its holidays, but the mind must not rest in "otium" longer than is necessary for the attainment of fresh energy.' True 'otium', said Petrarch, is the leisure which is not 'iners nec inutile, sed quod e solitudine prosit multis'.¹

This was the summit of Cicero's medieval influence. But at the same time it marked the beginning of a new development, beyond the bounds of medieval tradition. In *De Otio Religiosorum* Petrarch places humanistic solitude side by side with monastic seclusion. A quiet, comfortable life, free from anxiety, he says, would be as harmful to the hermit as to the man of the world. Struggle and exertion are necessary to test the powers of every human being. The decline of the Roman Empire is a lasting proof of the dangers of peace and quietude. When Rome had no longer to struggle for her existence, carefree security, thirst for pleasure and luxury, ruined the energy of the Roman people.²

By referring to Roman history in order to prove the necessity of inward struggle and exertion even in solitude, Petrarch reveals the links which connect his conception of active leisure with the civic world of Rome. Wherever we observe his humanism, we see his ideas slowly growing up from the medieval past. But he had covered the old ground with new seeds—seeds which were only waiting for a propitious wind to carry them to a new and

¹ *De Reb. Mem.*, I, tr. 1, c. 1 and 2; *De Vita Solitaria*, II, tr. 9, c. 5 and 6; II, tr. 10, c. 9; *Ep. sen.* II, 5.

² *De Otio Relig.*, in *Opera*, Basileae, 1581, p. 301. More details are to be found in my paper 'Das Erwachen des Historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 147, 1932, pp. 6 f.

more favourable soil. Petrarch rejected a life of action in the community and in the family, but he praised activity itself more highly than anybody else had done since Roman times. As soon as this praise of activity found full response in the circles of citizens who were leading a civic life ; as soon as the world of the Italian city-states, which had been developing since the twelfth century, reached cultural maturity—the time had come for the complete return of the Roman spirit. At this point, the slow process of medieval evolution was to develop into a sudden revolution.

The old conception of the Renaissance as a fundamental break with medieval traditions, as a new edifice on changed foundations, was not entirely wrong. It was only erroneous in so far as that break was placed at too early a date. A complete revolution in intellectual life did indeed take place, but not until the end of the fourteenth century, not until the very moment when Petrarch's humanism was transplanted into civic surroundings—first and foremost into the civic world of Florence.

Coluccio Salutati, Petrarch's pupil and an ardent Florentine patriot, Chancellor of Florence from 1375 to 1406, is the first example of the citizen-humanists who now made their appearance. In his youth Salutati had intended to reply to Petrarch's idealisation of the ' *vita solitaria* ' with a book, *De Vita Associabili et Operativa*. True, this work was never published. But his kinship with the Roman civic spirit was soon revealed on another occasion. Just as Petrarch had unexpectedly found himself face to face with Cicero's personality, thanks to his discovery of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Atticum*, so was Cicero's personality revealed to Salutati in 1392, through the discovery of the *Epistolae Familiares*. But whereas Petrarch's first joy had soon turned to increasing disappointment, the Florentine Chancellor honoured and admired those very characteristics of Cicero which Petrarch had considered unworthy of a philosopher. He admired the part which Cicero played in political life, his participation in the civil war and his thirst for political renown.

Cicero himself had said that nobody ought to remain a private individual when the liberty of the citizens was at stake. Salutati

understood his master well. Wishing to justify him for taking part in the civil wars, Salutati declared that, according to the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, Solon had already decreed that a citizen who in time of civic unrest continued leading his private life, was to be considered unfaithful to his city and expelled. Cicero, therefore, had not been oblivious of the duties of a 'sage' when he took part in the struggle for the liberty of the 'Respublica'. He had acted as a true philosopher and as a Roman like Brutus and Cassius, neither of whom thought it was permissible for Roman citizens to retire into solitude while the world was in flames.¹

Two years later one of Salutati's pupils, Pier Paolo Vergerio, wrote, in the name of Cicero, a reply to Petrarch's letter of accusation addressed to Cicero in Hades. It was the true voice of a Roman citizen which spoke in this answer 'from the Elysian fields'. 'Why didst thou forsake the calm so becoming to thy age, thy position and thy destiny?'—this was the indignant question which Petrarch had put to his master. 'My "otium"', Vergerio makes Cicero reply, 'my age, position and destiny intended me for a man who was to live his life in the midst of activity.' In my conception philosophy and culture 'were not meant to serve my own self-gratifying leisure, but to be used for the benefit of the community'. 'Ea enim mihi matura semper et praestans philosophia visa est, quae in urbibus habitat et solitudinem fugit.' The doctrine which I always upheld in my writings, was that he is the worthiest 'who takes upon himself work for the state and the cares which are demanded by the "salus omnium"'. I lived for the 'Respublica' as long as a Roman citizen could work for her. When Caesar set up his tyranny, a Roman citizen was not allowed to ask whether Caesar was a great man or not, or whether he was 'full of clemency'. I had to face the fact that Caesar made the state, in which 'the Law and the Senate' were called upon to govern, dependent on the 'clemency' or 'cruelty' of a single man.²

¹ *Ep.* VIII, 7 (Salutati's *Epistolario*, ed. Novati, in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, Vol. II, p. 389); *Ep.* IX, 3 and 4 (Vol. III, pp. 25 f. and 50).

² Vergerio's *Epistolario*, ed. L. Smith, 1934, in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, pp. 439 ff.

About 1415 Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Salutati's pupil and Vergerio's friend, and later on Salutati's successor as Florentine chancellor, built up on these foundations his biography of Cicero—the standard biography for the Renaissance. It was entitled *Cicero Novus*, because it was intended to replace Plutarch's *Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero*, which seemed to Bruni to favour the Greek orator. But the title *Cicero Novus* also acquired a deeper meaning. In contradiction to the 'old Cicero' of the Middle Ages and of Petrarch, this 'new Cicero' of the Florentine Renaissance no longer rested on the ostensible contrast between Cicero's political career, full of calamitous passions, and his fruitful philosophic life in the haven of quiet solitude. It was the trend of thought first revealed by the anonymous Italian biographer in the fourteenth century which now attained maturity. The new conception was based on the admiration of a citizen for the ideal union of political action and literary creation in Cicero's life. 'No one seeing Cicero's literary legacy', says Bruni, 'would believe that he had had any time for dealing with men; anyone reviewing his political deeds, his speeches, his occupations and his struggles both in public and private life, would imagine he could never have had leisure for reading and writing.'

Bruni found the explanation in the discovery that Cicero's literary and political activities were two parts of one and the same task: the work of a Roman citizen for his 'patria' and the Latin Empire of Rome. It was not so much that Cicero's philosophical studies simply followed his political activity in his old age, as that the Roman statesman was guided in his civic actions by his philosophy. 'Ex eodem philosophiae sacrario et facta ad rem publicam gubernandam et dicta ad scribendum praeciendumque aliis depromebat.' This double trend gave Cicero his strength. He became capable, 'in spite of the great claims made on him by a state which ruled the world, of writing more than philosophers whose lives are spent in leisure and in study; and on the other hand, in spite of intense pre-occupation with his studies and his literary work, he was capable of accomplishing more practical work than people unburdened with interest in literary matters'. The clue to Cicero's place in

history must be sought here. The task of his life was a two-fold work for Rome. As a consul and as an orator Cicero served the state ; as a thinker and writer he created a Latin philosophy, previously unknown to the Roman world. 'Ita solus, ut credo, hominum duo maxima munera et difficillima adimplevit.'¹

From that time onward Cicero taught the Renaissance these two things : the primary task of man is action and service for the community ; and, the contact of the spirit with active life does not distract his powers but stimulates his highest energy.

It was in civic circles, of course, that these teachings called forth the strongest response.

More than any other Italian city, Venice in the fifteenth century was a counterpart of Rome in the days of Cicero. The Venetian city-state was ruled, like the Rome of Cicero, by patricians whose lives were spent in the administration of a vast Mediterranean Empire, and who, at the same time, endeavoured to combine civic culture with their political work. In 1417, Francesco Barbaro, the champion of humanism in Venice, said that enthusiasm for the culture and political teachings of antiquity had now pervaded the Venetian aristocracy. Although natural efficiency would develop without learned lore, the Roman teachings and examples would make Venetian citizens 'wiser and more courageous in the administration of their state'. Barbaro sent the letter on the administration of the Roman provinces, written by Cicero to his brother Quintus, to a friend who had

¹ Brunì's *Cicero Novus seu Ciceronis Vita*, in *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 114 f. A scholarly amplification of this biographical outline, derived, like Brunì's work, from the mature historical consciousness of the fifteenth century, was the voluminous biography of Cicero in Sicco Polenton's *Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII*, lib. X-XVI. Taking Brunì's conception of Cicero as his starting-point, Sicco endeavoured to collect every single fact concerning Cicero's career as a writer, orator and statesman in order to create a biography as comprehensive as Cicero's historical personality itself. To Sicco, as to Brunì, Cicero's literary 'otium' in his old age was not a haven which he never should have left, but one to which he returned 'when contrary winds and waves had prevented him from sailing to the destination that he had fixed for himself.' The activities of the 'Forum' and the 'Curia' were now replaced by philosophic studies, 'ut scribendo saltem prodesset quibus dicendo, ut soleret, bene consulere tempora prohiberent.' (Edited by B. L. Ullman, in *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. VI, 1928, pp. 265 f., 407, 408.)

been appointed governor of Zara. Those of us who read Cicero's works, was Barbaro's comment, will render better service to our Republic, and will be grateful to the Roman writer.¹

When, in the following year, Leonardo Giustiniani delivered the funeral sermon for Carlo Zeno, the great Venetian statesman, he described the life of the deceased citizen in much the same way as Cicero himself would have done. After devoting the best years of his life to the state, Zeno had withdrawn to 'otium' and humanistic studies. But even in these studies 'hic noster ita modeste versatus est, ut . . . nunquam tamen neque patriae neque amicis privato consilio defuerit'. He had applied 'otium ad negotia' and had become perfect in both, remaining useful to the community in his old age. It was in this Venetian atmosphere that Barbaro renewed Cicero's own formula, proclaiming it to be the task of Venetian citizen-humanists 'to bring philosophy out of the gloomy depths of the studies and out of scholarly leisure into the fighting line and the centre of the conflict'.²

Florence, the most flourishing seat of civic culture in the fifteenth century, was destined to bring this revival of Cicero's Roman genius to maturity.³

In Florence, soon after 1400, men of the old school complained that the young generation were beginning to gather from Cicero's *De Officiis* that 'happiness and virtue were bound up with position and reputation in political life'. They were forgetting the philosophic truth that the 'perfect life' is contemplation and inner peace.⁴

In the fourteen-thirties Matteo Palmieri, Bruni's closest follower among the citizens, restored the civic attitude of *De*

¹ *Centotrenta lettere inedite di Francesco Barbaro*, ed. R. Sabbadini, Salerno, 1884, ep. 1.

² L. Giustiniani's *Funebris Oratio*, in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, XIX, col. 375 f.; *Centotrenta lettere di Barbaro*, op. cit., ep. 95; *Franc. Barbari Epistolae*, ed. Querini, Brescia, 1743, Appendix, ep. 50.

³ The reasons for the growth of the communal spirit and civic culture in Florence during the fifteenth century are discussed in my paper, 'The Historical Background of the Florentine Renaissance', in *History*, N. Ser., XXII, 1937-1938.

⁴ Cino Rinuccini, *Invettiva contro a certi calunniatori di Dante . . . Petrarca . . . Boccacci*, in A. Wesselofsky, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*, Vol. I, part 2 (Bologna, 1867), p. 314.

Officiis as a whole. Just as St. Ambrose had done at the beginning of the Middle Ages, Palmieri wrote an adaptation of the Ciceronian work, which made allowance for the needs of his own century. This adaptation was entitled *Della Vita Civile, On Civic Life*.

It would be interesting to observe in detail how, in this book, the Ciceronian faith in action and in a communal life was finally restored.¹ In the crowning chapter, the deepest impression is created by combining the vision of the *Somnium Scipionis* with the doctrines of *De Officiis*. Palmieri transfers Scipio's dream from Roman to Florentine history. In place of Scipio, Dante (who as the wanderer through heaven and hell is best qualified to report on the reward of souls after death) receives the message from the Hereafter on the battle-field of Campaldino, on the day of one of the greatest Florentine victories. This message is nothing but the Ciceronian teaching from the *Somnium Scipionis*. 'I saw in heaven [says Dante's fallen friend, returned to life for a short hour] the souls of all the citizens who had ruled their states justly on earth, and among them I recognised Fabricius, Curius, and Fabius Maximus, Scipio and Metellus, and many others who for the sake of their country forgot themselves and their possessions.' 'No human work can be better than care for the welfare of the "patria", the maintenance of the "città", and the preservation of unity and harmony in a rightly ordered community'—with this passage in imitation of Cicero the messenger from the Beyond exhorts the Florentine poet.²

From the libraries and studies where Cicero's dialogues were read and adapted to Florentine needs, we step out on to the Piazza Signoria, the centre of the political life of Florence. There, in 1427, the 'Capitano del Popolo', Stefano Porcari, delivered a public oration before the authorities. It was full of

¹ *Della vita civile*, printed in Milan, 1830. Such an analysis has in part been made in my publications "La Rinascita dell' Etica Statale Romana nell' Umanesimo Fiorentino", *Civiltà Moderna*, VII, Florence, 1935, pp. 11 f, 27; and "Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought," *Speculum*, XIII, 1933, pp. 23 f.—The first words of the work, in which Palmieri describes the ideal union of a civic and a studious life, almost literally repeat, without confessing it, the introductory words of *De Oratore*, I, 1, 1.

² *Della vita civile*, loc. cit., pp. 220 f., 228 f.

admiration for the state, prosperity and civic spirit of Florence. In such surroundings, said the 'Capitano del Popolo', every citizen ought to feel that he owed to the community all his happiness, all his intellectual and material possessions. Even in solitude no good citizen would forget his duties of gratitude. He recalled the example of Scipio Africanus Maior, quoting the paradox, handed down by Cicero, on Scipio's tireless activity in leisure. In this scene in the piazza of Florence, all the interpretations of Scipio's words from the medieval monasteries are forgotten. Porcari, the humanist of the fifteenth century, interprets as follows: Scipio's paradox meant that in the silence of his solitude 'he was wont to think of the incomparable and glorious gifts he had received from the commonwealth; he then spurred on all his energies, to deserve them by his deeds and persistent efforts'.¹

This moving civic interpretation actually went beyond the ideas expressed by Cicero in *De Officiis*. But it was in the direction which Cicero, the Roman statesman, had shown. Anyone who knows the long historical process which we have been contemplating, cannot but recognise the dawn of an age which in many respects was more akin to the world of ancient Rome than all the centuries of the Middle Ages. Petrarch's conception of Scipio discovering, after his victories, that philosophical studies in solitude have equal or even higher value for the noble mind than all the victories and honours in the world, had lost its power in the fifteenth century. Either the 'otium' of Scipio was now interpreted as that of a citizen who from loneliness will soon return with added strength to his civic duties, or—the old symbol of Scipio's flight into solitude was repudiated and replaced by the ideal of a civic culture which needs no scholarly retreat but thrives amid the very activities of daily life.

It was Vergerio who introduced this challenge into the pedagogics of the fifteenth century. In his *De Ingeniis Moribus et Liberalibus Studiis Adolescentiae* (the first famous outline of humanistic pedagogy, written in 1402-3) he called the 'otium' of Scipio an example which should not be followed by ordinary

¹ Ed. (attributed to a wrong author) in *Prose del giovane Buonaccorso da Montemagno*, Bologna, 1874, p. 18.

men. Perhaps (he said) Scipio Africanus, a man of unique virtues, was able to find his true self in loneliness, after exceptional exertions, and in his old age. 'And yet he does not seem to me to be of lesser worth, who, in contrast thereto, knows how to maintain his solitude amid the turbulence of crowds, his inner calm in the midst of action.' Vergerio's practical advice was that man should preserve his natural elasticity within the framework of his daily life, by gymnastic exercises, hunting and fishing. In this way he should render any flight into solitude superfluous. The symbol of Scipio, gaining new energy in loneliness, was replaced by the memory of Cato. For Cato, said Vergerio, was able to concentrate his mind in the midst of public affairs. He had learnt to study in the Curia, while the Senate was assembling, and was thus fitting himself to give political advice which was beneficial to the 'patria' not only for the fleeting moment but for all time.¹

What was this ideal of the fifteenth-century humanist but the old doctrine of the orator Crassus in Cicero's *De Oratore*? 'What cannot be learnt quickly', Crassus had said, 'will never be learnt at all.' A citizen therefore should not withdraw from civic duties to scholarly work. His fellow-citizens should not feel that he was devoting himself to studies.²

In the fifteenth century the time had come for the rebirth of these ideas from *De Oratore*. In 1421, in the Cathedral of Lodi in Northern Italy, a complete text of Cicero's work was discovered. It included the words of Crassus which had been missing, like many other paragraphs of *De Oratore*, in the manuscripts known to the Middle Ages.³ This rediscovery of *De Oratore* did not only lead to new doctrines in the pedagogy of the Renaissance. It also helped the Florentine citizens in their historical reinterpretation of Dante from the point of view of fifteenth-century Florence. Cicero, whose greatest strength had

¹ *De Ingeniis Moribus*, ed. Gnesotto, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accad. di Padova*, XXXIV, 1918, pp. 119 and 142.

² *De Oratore*, III, 22, 82—23, 89; cf. p. 76 n 1 above (' . . . ut, nisi quod quisque cito potuerit, numquam omnino possit perdiscere').

³ The §§ 18-109 of the third book of *De Oratore* had been unknown to the Middle Ages. Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Vol. 1, 1905, pp. 100 and 218.

lain in his close contact with the great figures of Roman history, was now to teach Florentine citizens how to contemplate the greatest figure of their own past. Just as Scipio the Elder had been the model for Cicero, so Dante became the symbol of civic culture for Florence.

Before the revival of Ciceronian thought Dante had not yet been considered in this light. To the fourteenth century he had been a philosopher, who kept aloof from the common world. Giovanni Villani, in his *Chronicle*, had called him 'presumptuous and reserved because of his learning, careless of graces as philosophers are', and 'not knowing very well how to converse with the unlearned'. Boccaccio, Petrarch's follower, had even reproached the Florentine poet for not having remained faithful to the retired life of a philosopher. In his biography of Dante, Boccaccio had interpreted Dante's unhappy fate as that of a philosopher who, in the civic atmosphere of Florence, forgot 'what obstacles to a studious life women are'. Thus Dante forfeited his intellectual peace through marriage and was drawn into the whirlpool of domestic and public cares which destroyed his life.¹

The civic ideals of the fifteenth century led Leonardo Bruni to discover Dante's political career in Florence and his share in the citizen army in the battle of Campaldino. Bruni, in his *Vita di Dante* (written in 1436), stressed these facts and pointed out that Dante, as a true citizen, had had a wife and children. The greatest philosophers (said Bruni), Aristotle, Cicero, Cato, Seneca and Varro, were fathers of families and served their states. Petrarch lived only to himself; this was the weak point in his personality. Dante taught citizens that true intellectual work never led men to idle solitude. After the battle of Campaldino 'he applied himself to his studies with greater zeal than ever; nevertheless he did not neglect the intercourse with his fellow-citizens. And it was a marvellous thing: although Dante studied continuously, nobody would have gained the impression that he was studying.'

'And here', said Bruni, 'I should like to rectify the mistake

¹ Giov. Villani, *Cronica*, lib. IX, 136; Boccaccio, in the *Trattatello in laude di Dante* as well as in the *Compendio della origine, vita, costumi e studii di Dante*.

of many ignorant people. They believe that nobody is a student who does not bury himself in solitude and leisure. Among the stay-at-homes, withdrawn from human society, I have never seen one who could count up to three. A lofty and distinguished mind does not need such fetters. On the contrary, the true conclusion is: Whatever does not find expression at once, will never do so.¹

Thus, in the figure of Dante, the ideas, even the words of the Crassus of *De Oratore* had reappeared, not in mere imitation of a literary model but extended and transformed, with the naive and powerful self-confidence of the fifteenth century.

Bruni's biography of Dante was circulated more widely and used more frequently by other writers than any other literary work of the Early Renaissance. Almost everyone who gave his mind to Dante during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, stood upon Bruni's shoulders: Gianozzo Manetti, in the age of Cosimo dei Medici, Cristoforo Landino in the period of Platonism, Alessandro Vellutello, the leading Dante-scholar in the first half of the sixteenth century. All these biographers of Dante took over from Bruni the conception of Dante as a symbol of the union of thought and action, of studious and civic life. They were all dependent, through Bruni, on the civic spirit of Cicero's *De Oratore*.

Thus, after fifteen centuries, the ideal which Cicero had set up for Roman citizens was restored for modern times—re-created in fifteenth-century Florence in the figure of the Florentine poet.

¹ Bruni's *Le vite di Dante e di Petrarca*, in *L. Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, op. cit., pp. 53 f. ('E era cosa miracolosa, che, studiando continuamente, a niuna persona sarebbe paruto, che egli studiasse. . . . Anzi è vera conclusione e certissima, che quello, che non appara tosto, non appara mai.')

BROWNING: THE POET'S AIM.¹

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WHO now reads Browning? Booksellers and librarians, who judge by figures and not by rumours, tell us that he is almost dead and done with. There was a temporary reawakening in the north when the *Barretts of Wimpole Street* came. But the film was much more widely known than the play: and whatever the other charms of the film's Robert Browning, it seemed a safe conjecture to doubt whether he could ever have written a line of verse. He may have excited some of his audience to ask for the Browning Love Letters: but he drove nobody back to the poems. Yet Robert Browning was a great poet, in my own view, the greatest nineteenth-century English poet after Wordsworth. That may be prejudice rather than judgment: Browning was my boyhood's first poet, the volume I first bought, the one I carried about with me in my pocket; and youthful impressions may permanently distort a dispassionate adult judgment. But as the years go on, though many of one's earlier favourites recede before newer preferences, on the whole one finds oneself reaching a more settled way of valuation. Its application to individual poets may still be variable, but the sense of the something or other which makes for greatness in all poetry fixes itself more securely. Broadly speaking, I come more and more firmly to the opinion that the test of all poetry lies in its meaning. The poet has something to say which only he can say, because only he has seen it so; he seeks for the instrument which says it just as he sees it. His technical accomplishment sharpens and clarifies his own vision

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of October, 1937.

and projects that vision in all its peculiarities. In the end, he has revealed the world, or a part of it, in the precise proportions in which its values have stamped themselves on his senses, his mind, and his imagination. That is what he gives to the world : his worth is the value his vision has for the world. It is of course a value which need not be translated into a moral or an intellectual currency. It is a value which exists in *Kubla Khan* as certainly as in the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*. It is perhaps better to call it the significance of the poem, rather than its meaning, for meaning tends to be taken didactically ; the poet is shorn of his prerogative and is falsely acclaimed as a teacher.

Today's neglect of Browning is from some points of view very odd indeed. The qualities in his work which from the outset have stood between him and a wide popularity are, one suspects, still obstructions to the general reader. His poetry is sometimes difficult : "when I wrote those lines, two people knew their meaning, God and Robert Browning ; now God only knows." There are difficulties of word and phrase ; there are distortions of syntax ; there are recondite references and glancing allusions. Yet in a way these are peculiarities of the Browning idiom, and they disappear as our familiarity with his language grows. There are, of course, other causes of difficulty : fancies so profound that they break through language and escape us, or tougher poems with subtle meanings of man and of life. But the hardness of these is as inherent in their subject as is the difficulty of Einstein's theory of relativity. Sometimes, too, the mechanism of the dramatic lyric, as for instance in *Dis Aliter Visum*, involves such a dovetailing of spoken and of unspoken discourse, now in the present and now recollected or imagined from the past, that the shape of the dialogue becomes almost like a Chinese puzzle. Still further, and not a little encouraged by the latter Browning, readers are deluded into the view that Browning is primarily a thinker. They come to his poems in a wrong frame of mind. They take *Rabbi ben Ezra* or *The Strange Epistle of Karshish* as pieces of argumentation to be judged finally by the logic of their statement. But both are poems : their structure is poetic ; they are not built as

ascending steps of ratiocination ; they are continuous utterances of a progressive mood. *Rabbi ben Ezra* works within its intellectual assumptions and never questions them. *Karshish* is not concerned with philosophic grounds for belief in a God of love : it is entirely occupied with the depiction of the impact on a man's mind and feelings of the notion that there may be a God who is a God of love. Similarly, " God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world " is taken as the assertion of Browning's philosophy of life : but even an optimist like Browning would never have regarded such a statement as philosophically adequate. It was just Pippa's intuitive apprehension of the world of which she was a part—as much a matter, not of what she thought, but of what she saw, as was her awareness of the lark on the wing and the snail on the thorn.

But all these drawbacks to Browning's popularity are in a sense drawbacks based on a misapprehension or an imperfect apprehension of Browning's poetry. There are others which rest on firmer ground. The reader comes to Browning, finds in him what is really there, but is dissatisfied with its claims to be called poetry. It is so markedly different from what he has come to expect from poetry. His eye, his ear and his feelings are affected by Browning in a way which is not commonly the poet's way. What is one to make of a poem which preludes its presentation of intense spiritual exaltation with images like this ?

Higgledy-piggledy, packed we lie,
Rats in a hamper, swine in a sty,
Wasps in a bottle, frogs in a sieve,
Worms in a carcase, fleas in a sleeve.

Or this description of a country scene :

I think I never saw
Such starved ignoble nature ; nothing thrive :
For flowers—as well expect a cedar grove !
But cockle, spurge, according to their law
Might propagate their kind, with none to awe,
You'd think ; a burr had been a treasure-trove. . . .
If there pushed any ragged thistle-stalk
Above its mates, the head was chopped ; the bents
Were jealous else. What made those holes and rents

In the dock's harsh swarth leaves, bruised as to baulk
 All hope of greenness ? 'tis a brute must walk
 Pushing their life out, with a brute's intents.

As for grass, it grew as scant as hair
 In leprosy ; thin, dry blades pricked the mud
 Which underneath looked kneaded up with blood.

One stiff blind horse, his every bone a-stare
 Stood stupefied, however he came there :

Thrust out past service from the devil's stud ! . . .
 So petty, yet so spiteful ! All along,

Low scrubby alders kneeled down over it ;
 Drenched willows flung them headlong in a fit
 Of mute despair, a suicidal throng :
 The river which had done them all the wrong,
 Whate'er that was, rolled by, deterred no whit.

This, too, for the customary music of verse :

Image the whole, then execute the parts—
 Fancy the fabric
 Quite, ere you build, ere steel strike fire from quartz,
 Ere mortar dab brick !

Or this :

Irks care the crop-full bird ? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast ?

As music, this is hardly up to the tongs and the bones : no
 wonder Browning found inspiration in the thump-thump and
 the shriek-shriek of a railway train :

A tune was born in my head last week
 Out of the thump-thump and shriek-shriek
 Of the train, as I came by it, up from Manchester ;
 And when, next week, I take it back again,
 My head will sing to the engine's clack again,
 While it only makes my neighbour's haunches stir,
 —Finding no dormant musical sprout
 In him, as in me, to be jolted out.

It certainly is capable of making the haunches stir.

As in detail, so in the ensemble. When a church is not
 full of its "stinking and savoury, smug and gruff" horde of
 worshippers, its emptiness may disclose that a poor devil has
 ended his cares

At the foot of its rotten-runged, rat-riddled stairs.

If it should happen to be a nonconformist Bethel, the physical

horror of it is violently contagious, with its hot smell and the human noises :

Well, from the road, the lanes or the common,
 In came the flock : the fat weary woman,
 Panting and bewildered, down-clapping
 Her umbrella with a mighty report,
 Grounded it by me, wry and flapping,
 A wreck of whalebones : then, with a snort,
 Like a startled horse, at the interloper
 (Who humbly knew himself improper,
 But could not shrink up small enough)
 —Round to the door, and in,—the gruff
 Hinge's invariable scold
 Making my very blood run cold.
 Prompt in the wake of her, up-pattered
 On broken clogs, the many tattered
 Little old-faced peaking sister-turned-mother
 Of the sickly babe she tried to smother
 Somehow up, with its spotted face,
 From the cold, on her breast, the one warm place ;
 She too must stop, wring the poor ends dry
 Of a draggled shawl, and add thereby
 Her tribute to the door-mat, sopping
 Already from my own clothes' dropping,
 Which yet she seemed to grudge I should stand on :
 Then, stooping down to take off her pattens,
 She bore them defiantly, in each hand one,
 Planted together before her breast
 And its babe, as good as a lance in rest.
 Close on her heels, the dingy satins
 Of a female something, past me flitted,
 With lips as much too white, as a streak
 Lay far too red on each hollow cheek ;
 And it seemed the very door-hinge pitied
 All that was left of a woman once
 Holding at least its tongue for the nonce.
 Then a tall yellow man, like the Penitent Thief,
 With his jaw bound up in a handkerchief,
 And eyelids screwed together tight,
 Led himself in by some inner light.

Apparently, no conventional theme is safe from unpoetic sacrilege. A death-bed—and a bishop's at that—and we have the pagan sensuousness of the dying Bishop of St. Praxed's.

These, be it remembered, are not exceptional things in Browning. They are characteristic of his art. Hence it is not strange that the general reader feels himself unfed. But the odd thing is that to-day's fashionable codification of literary values is curiously blind to Browning's likeness to their own chosen idols. Probably no later English poet, apart from our contemporaries, is nearer to Donne than is Browning. There is the same assault on conventional technique, the same preference for the out of the way, and alternatively for the flagrantly homely, the same exaltation of colloquialism to the pure currency of poetic speech, the same over-leaping of the sensuous image to establish the direct symbolic identification, the same thrust of passion beyond the merely physical manifestation of it. But Cambridge, in spite of it, has no use for Browning.

There is more reason for the general reader's dissatisfaction than for that of the pundits. Much of what Browning stands for in life is unfashionable or even positively suspect. He was given to violent romanticism. He idealised woman and the love of man and woman; and doing so, he took no cognisance of the sexual bond as such. He glorified love as a purely spiritual experience which did not even require the spiritual reciprocity of the other person. Love at first sight, and love unspoken, love based merely on a momentary glimpse of her eye, love with nothing except that moment in its whole story: that is the love depicted in *Cristina*. Victorianism at its worst, one feels; and forgets for the time being that the speaker in *Cristina* is almost as certifiable for a madhouse cell as was Johannes Agricola or Porphyria's Lover; forgets also *The Statue and the Bust*, and Lippo's gallivantings; forgets that for half Rome the hero and heroine of Browning's longest poem, *The Ring and the Book*, were adulterers glorifying an elopement as a form of spiritual enfranchisement.

Moreover, in spite of his confession that he had found life three parts pain, Browning is taken for a flamboyant optimist: and optimism hardly fits easily into the post-War world. Maybe the grounds of his faith were physiological rather than intellectual. Maybe, on the intellectual side, they presupposed an uncritically adopted theology. But in the last resort, is not

Browning's most intimate sense of man's insatiable thirst for experience very much like the groundwork of the "optimism" of Shakespearian tragedy? Life is a struggle, man strives and fails, but the very failure reveals in him hitherto unexplored regions of purely human nobility. Browning's optimism, however, must occupy us on some future occasion.

Then there is the indubitable circumstance that Browning professed himself a Christian. Moreover he did not mean by that that he respected Christianity as an admirable moral code: this would have been a doctrine not hostile to his own and to-day's prevailing sentiment. Unitarianism and untheological Christian ethics were anathema to him, as he makes clear in *Christmas Eve*. By declaring himself a Christian, he meant that he believed in Christ, in a way inapplicable to any other person, as in fact the Son of God, miraculously born through the immaculate conception of Mary. This was the fundamental article of his faith; compared with it the other articles were relatively unimportant. Here then, he seems to be taking refuge in the innermost sanctuary of orthodoxy, to be insisting on particular points which most lend themselves to to-day's criticism. Of course, we shall find that he held his orthodoxy unorthodoxically: that he believed the accepted belief for reasons entirely his own. In the real sense, he was a non-conformist because he did not conform to any articulated catalogue of beliefs. But Browning's religion, like his optimism, must be a topic deferred.

So much for the causes which strike the eye as obstacles to Browning's popularity in 1938. But as yet the most substantial has not been mentioned. More than that of any other poet of the nineteenth century, Browning's way of seeing life is an individualist's; and since Victoria's time the world has chosen to think socially rather than individually. It is not merely that politically Browning was a Liberal, believing in *laissez-faire*, in nationalism and in Cobdenite economics in general. It is more than that. Browning sees the world as an aggregation of individuals; it is the individual as such in whom he is interested. So he fails in his strictly dramatic writings. He fails in them to grasp the power of the something or other which emerges

wherever a group of people are met together. He resolves his plot or action as the mere impact of individual on individual. He chooses themes, as in *Strafford* or *King Victor and King Charles*, which involve the power of attachment to corporate ideals, and then works out the predicament merely in terms of the loyalty of person to person. Perhaps the most staring example of Browning's obliviousness to social forces and social institutions as such occurs in the most magnificent of his formally dramatic scenes, the Ottima-Sebald scene of *Pippa Passes*. A murder has been committed. There is anxiety to remove the corpse, but that is merely for the æsthetic reason that its presence is repulsive, and not for the strategic reason that with a *corpus delicti*, murder will out. Once the corpse is carried away

We may sleep

Anywhere in the whole wide house tonight

says Ottima. And even near the end of the scene—

Did you ever see our silk mills—their inside ?

There are ten silk mills now belong to you

she says to her paramour. One realises in retrospect what an unorganised community that of Asola is. There are in it only individuals, there are no policemen, there is no criminal law, and there is not even a system of legal inheritance.

The circumstance is typical of Browning. In every situation, the corporate as distinct from the individual reality is either forgotten or belittled. In *Columbe's Birthday*, where the issue is between love and public duty, love wins hands down, and the victory is applauded so unquestionably that those of us who have lived through recent dynastic changes are pulled up sharp. It is unquestionable that this social myopia interfered with Browning's work as a dramatist. But it drove him to the invention of the dramatic lyric, in which its limitations were turned almost completely to advantages. For the dramatic lyric is the presentation of an individual under the stress of circumstance ; and if, in that circumstance, other individuals are to be reckoned, they are usually as subsidiary as is the face of Florence in *Lippo Lippi* or the geranium flower in *Evelyn Hope*. Sometimes these complementary characters cannot but

thrust themselves on our attention : but the more they do so, the more is their nature dubious. One figure at a time is the range of Browning's normal vision. When in *Porphyria's Lover*, the other actor bulks largely, who shall say what Porphyria is ? There is no doubt that her lover is a morbid megalomaniac whose evidence is untrustworthy. But is Porphyria—who has the instinctive sense to shut doors on a stormy night, to poke fires which are going out, and to divest herself methodically of wet clothes before she pretends to be comfortable—is Porphyria a vamp, or, as she seems to me, a sensible sort of a girl who finds that a bit of fun which she had started through *ennui*, has grown to a pitch which is far beyond what she ever expected ? Or in *Any Wife to Any Husband*, do we side with the lady, or do we find her, in a way we can understand, relapsing into a distorted view of her husband's character and temperament ?

These, perhaps, are mainly points of the detailed interpretation of particular characters. But in some cases more general issues seem to be raised. *Love Among the Ruins* claims that the significance of the love of two nameless young folks is larger than that of the empires whose traces lie thickly scattered around their trysting-place :

In one year they sent a million fighters forth
 South and North,
 And they built their gods a brazen pillar high
 As the sky,
 Yet reserved a thousand chariots in full force—
 Gold, of course.
 Oh heart ! oh blood that freezes, blood that burns !
 Earth's returns
 For whole centuries of folly, noise and sin !
 Shut them in,
 With their triumphs and their glories and the rest !
 Love is best.

It will clearly be difficult to put a scheme of values like this into the codes of modern social consciousness. Its assessments will appear as distorted as those of such flagrantly unbalanced minds as Porphyria's lover's, and Johannes Agricola's, to name only the two of his early characters to whom Browning allotted madhouse cells as their proper abode. But one will wonder

how far Browning's fondness for the abnormal types of individual sensibility eats even more deeply into his mind, allowing him to adopt, as reasonable apprehensions of reality, notions no less precariously individual in their origin than are the diseased intuitions of Porphyria's lover and of Johannes Agricola. What, for instance, is the absolute value of such views of life as are held by the man in *The Last Ride Together* or in *Evelyn Hope*? In these cases, however, it may in the last resort be no more than a recognition that this or that view, however individual and odd, shows itself at least substantial enough to give its holder a faith by which to live and in which to die. But what can be said of it in *The Statue and the Bust*, where the opportunity to test some forms of individual worth seems to be purchased at a price precariously near to the adoption of moral anarchy?

Or bring it to an even closer issue. One of the most characteristic of Browning's moral principles was his belief in apparent failure as real success :

What is failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fulness of the days ?

Or in *Rabbi ben Ezra* :

For thence,—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks,—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail :
What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me ;
A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale. . . .
Not on the vulgar mass
Called " work," must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had their price ;
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice :
But all, the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account ;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount :
Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,

Fancies that broke through language and escaped ;
 All I could never be,
 All, men ignored in me,
 This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

Or from *The Last Ride Together* :

Who knows what's fit for us ? Had fate
 Proposed bliss here should sublimate
 My being—had I signed the bond—
 Still one must lead some life beyond,
 Have a bliss to die with, dim-descried.
 This foot once planted on the goal,
 This glory-garland round my soul,
 Could I descry such ? Try and test !
 I sink back shuddering from the quest.
 Earth being so good, would heaven seem best ?
 Now, heaven and she are beyond this ride.

Or in *A Grammarian's Funeral* :

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
 Sees it and does it :
 This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
 Dies ere he knows it.
 That low man goes on adding one to one,
 His hundred's soon hit :
 This high man, aiming at a million,
 Misses an unit.

So it runs through the whole of his poems. It is in many ways a tonic doctrine, an incentive to great endeavour. And so long as the final goal is the individual's salvation of his own soul, it is a faith in which one can live vigorously. But again, it takes no direct cognisance of immediate social circumstance. It is not only that man, gaining his own soul, may find himself without the means to feed his body, for that may possibly be another means of spiritual salvation. But what of the man's wife and his children ? Doubtless there is the same mode of salvation open to them as individuals. But, though that may be some meagre consolation for the wife, it is useless to the children until society has invented a social measure for the care of the helpless and the destitute. These remarks, however, are not urged as final arguments against Browning's doctrine : they are only

put forward to illustrate the wide gulf between Browning's instinctive way of seeing life and the way of to-day. Moreover, though Browning's comprehensive individualism be recognised as a limitation of his appeal to modern sentiment, it is to be remembered that his own view of the function of poetry claimed a large social value for it. He had strong beliefs about what a poet ought to do, and strong convictions about the social service which poetry fulfilled.

To appreciate his notion of the poet's form of social service, one must start with Browning's sense of his own personal relation as a poet to the society in which he lived. Indeed, one must go back further still, and discover what Browning felt to be the dominant features of his own poetic personality, and how this awareness affected his immediate and personal relationship to the human world about him.

His earliest poem, *Pauline*, is a semi-articulate confession. It discloses obscurely a personality which is not altogether attractive. His egocentricity leans to morbidity, and one needs to modify its intimations by recollecting that, in spite of affectations like the lemon kid-gloves, the adult Browning was patently "not one of those damned literary gents." But in one respect, its testimony is authoritative. Browning's introspection had given him a clear consciousness of his own poetic nature :

I am made up of an intensest life,
Of a most clear idea of consciousness
Of self, distinct from all its qualities,
From all affections, passions, feelings, powers ;
And thus far it exists, if tracked, in all :
But linked, in me, to self-supremacy,
Existing as a centre to all things,
Most potent to create and rule and call
Upon all things to minister to it ;
And to a principle of restlessness
Which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel, all—
This is myself ; and I should thus have been
Though gifted lower than the meanest soul.

Clearly a personality so passionately aware of its own identity, so intuitively assertive of its self-supremacy, and yet so restlessly stirred by its thirst for comprehensive experience,

is a personality which will be inordinately sensitive to its own rights and nervously resentful of all seeming infringements of those rights. It will regard privacy as its most sacred prerogative, the last stronghold of individual being.

But clearly, unless a poet refrains from publication, he is exposing to the public something which in some way is a part of his own nature. Browning felt this to be a permanent cause of antagonism between the poet and his public. In the first place, not being themselves poets, readers tend to value what the poet gives them by standards not only inapplicable to poetry as such, but merely material and gross. There is the painter in *Pictor Ignotus* who deliberately sidetracks his art, lest, following its bent, his pictures should become traffic for dealers and possessions domiciled in houses of worldly mercenaries.

I could have painted pictures like that youth's
Ye praise so

he tells us. He could have built up a world-wide reputation, found himself honoured by Pope and Emperor, and his masterpieces treasured in the galleries of the world :

Oh, thus to live, I and my picture, linked
With love about, and praise, till life should end,
And then not go to heaven, but linger here,
Here on my earth, earth's every man my friend. . . .

But . . . a voice changed it. Glimpses of such sights

Have scared me, like the revels through a door
Of some strange house of idols at its rites !

This world seemed not the world it was before :
Mixed with my loving trusting ones, there trooped

. . . Who summoned those cold faces that begun
To press on me and judge me ? Though I stooped
Shrinking, as from the soldiery a nun,

They drew me forth, and spite of me, . . . enough !

These buy and sell our pictures, take and give,
Count them for garniture and household stuff,

And where they live needs must our pictures live
And see their faces, listen to their prate,

Partakers of their daily pettiness,
Discussed of,—“ This I love, or this I hate,

“ This likes me more, and this affects me less ! ”

Wherefore I chose my portion.

So he turns his back on the way of fame, giving himself to cloistral decorations in monotonous conventional style. He foregoes his art to gain the seclusion of his own privacy :

If at whiles
My heart sinks, as monotonous I paint
These endless cloisters and eternal aisles
With the same series, Virgin, Babe, and Saint,
With the same cold calm beautiful regard,—
At least no merchant traffics in my heart.

His pictures pass : “ So, die my pictures ! surely, gently die ! ”
—for the praise of the world is not worth the desecration of one's innermost self :

O youth, men praise so,—holds their praise its worth ?
Blown harshly, keeps the trump its golden cry ?
Tastes sweet the water, with such specks of earth ?

This is no merely dramatic study of a recluse who feels the world's touch a contamination. The theme recurs as the main argument of the purely personal and non-dramatic poem, *One Word More*, with which Browning dedicated his *Men and Women* to his wife. It is a statement of the poet's endeavour, once and only once, and for one only, to declare his love for his own lady,

So to be the man and leave the artist,
Gain the man's joy, miss the artist's sorrow.

In the exercise of his art he is like to desecrate it by memories of the stupidity of the public who will misjudge it.

Wherefore ? Heaven's gift takes earth's abatement !
He who smites the rock and spreads the water,
Bidding drink and live a crowd beneath him,
Even he, the minute makes immortal,
Proves, perchance, but mortal in the minute,
Desecrates, belike, the deed in doing.
While he smites, how can he but remember,
So he smote before, in such a peril,
When they stood and mocked—“ Shall smiting help us ? ”
When they drank and sneered—“ A stroke is easy ! ”
When they wiped their mouths, and went their journey,
Throwing him for thanks—“ But drought was pleasant.”

Thus old memories mar the actual triumph ;
 Thus the doing savours of disrelish ;
 Thus achievement lacks a gracious somewhat ;
 O'er importuned brows becloud the mandate,
 Carelessness or consciousness—the gesture.
 For he bears an ancient wrong about him,
 Sees and knows again those phalanxed faces,
 Hears, yet one time more, the 'customed prelude—
 " How should's't thou, of all men, smite, and save us ? "
 Guesses what is like to prove the sequel—
 " Egypt's flesh-pots—nay, the drought was better."
 Oh, the crowd must have emphatic warrant !
 Theirs, the Sinai-forehead's cloven brilliance,
 Right arm's rod-sweep, tongue's imperial feat.
 Never dares the man put off the prophet.

And there is more than a desecrating stupidity in the public :
 there is the feeling that it has purchased a right to intrude into
 the secrets of the poet's privacy :

Hardly shall I tell my joys and sorrows,
 Hopes and fears, belief and disbelieving :
 I am mine and yours—the rest be all men's,
 Karshish, Cleon, Norbert and the fifty.
 Let me speak this once in my true person,
 Not as Lippo, Roland or Andrea.

In another poem, he presents Shakespeare as similarly eager
 to protect the sanctity of his own personal experience :

Here's my work : does work discover—
 What was rest from work—my life ?
 Did I live man's hater, lover ?
 Leave the world at peace, at strife ?
 Call earth ugliness or beauty ?
 See things there in large or small ?
 Use to pay its lord my duty ?
 Use to own a lord at all ?
 Blank of such a record truly
 Here's the work I hand, this scroll,
 Yours to take or leave ; as duly
 Mine remains the unproffered soul.
 So much, no whit more, my debtors—
 How should one like me lay claim
 To that largess elders, betters
 Sell you cheap their souls for, fame ?

And Shakespeare is made to denounce those who take a poet's writings as a documentation of his biography :

Which of you did I enable
 Once to step inside my breast,
 There to catalogue and label
 What I like least, what love best,
 Hope and fear, believe and doubt of,
 Seek and shun, respect—deride ?
 Who has right to make a rout of
 Rarities he found inside ?

It is easy to see how strong and persistent was this sentiment in Browning : *Pictor Ignotus* appeared in 1842, *One Word More* in 1855, and the poem just quoted, *At the Mermaid*, in 1876. Nor, in the 1876 volume is its expression confined to one poem. There is the poem *House*, in which he riotously scorns the prying inquisitiveness of a sacriligious public :

Shall I sonnet-sing you about myself ?
 Do I live in a house you would like to see ?
 Is it scant of gear, has it store of pelf ?
 "Unlock my heart with a sonnet-key ?"

Invite the world, as my betters have done ?
 "Take notice : this building remains on view,
 Its suites of reception every one,
 Its private apartment and bedroom too ;

"For a ticket, apply to the Publisher."
 No : thanking the public, I must decline.
 A peep through my window, if folk prefer :
 But, please you, no foot over threshold of mine !

I have mixed with a crowd and heard free talk
 In a foreign land where an earthquake chanced :
 And a house stood gaping, nought to baulk
 Man's eye wherever he gazed or glanced.

The whole frontage shaven sheer,
 The inside gaped : exposed to day,
 Right and wrong and common and queer,
 Bare, as the palm of your hand it lay.

The owner ? Oh, he had been crushed, no doubt !
 " Odd tables and chairs for a man of wealth !
 What a parcel of musty old books about !
 He smoked,—no wonder he lost his health !

" I doubt if he bathed before he dressed.
 A brasier ?—the pagan, he burned perfumes !
 You see it is proved, what the neighbours guessed :
 His wife and himself had separate rooms."

Friends, the goodman of the house at least
 Kept house to himself till an earthquake came :
 'Tis the fall of the frontage permits you feast
 On the inside arrangement you praise or blame.

Outside should suffice for evidence :
 And whoso desires to penetrate
 Deeper, must dive by the spirit-sense—
 No optics, like yours, at any rate !

" Hoity-toity ! A street to explore,
 Your house the exception ! ' *With this same key*
Shakespeare unlocked his heart,' once more !
 Did Shakespeare ? If so, the less Shakespeare he ! "

Doubtless Browning's extreme sensitiveness to this public prying was the nervous expression of his ideal individualism. But it did not finally distort his own sense of responsibility to the public. He could often transmute his indignation into hilarious nonchalance. He affects an amused indifference for the British Public at the beginning of *The Ring and The Book* :

British Public, ye who like me not,
 (God love you !)—whom I yet have laboured for,
 Perchance more careful whose runs may read
 Than erst when all, it seemed, could read who ran,—
 Perchance more careless whoso reads may praise
 Than late when he who praised and read and wrote
 Was apt to find himself the self-same one.

At the end of it there is a more serious recognition of a situation which is not finally hopeless :

So, British Public, who may like me yet,
 (Marry and amen !)

In any case, there are always the few who read and really understand, and for whom the poet's word is the most prized event in a life-time's routine, as epoch-making as the casual encounter with a man who had once seen Shelley in the flesh :

. . . the memory I started at—
 My starting moves your laughter.
 I crossed a moor, with a name of its own
 And a certain use in the world no doubt,
 Yet a hand's-breadth of it shows alone
 'Mid the blank miles round about :
 For there I picked up on the heather
 And there I put inside my breast
 A moulted feather, an eagle-feather !
 Well, I forget the rest.

It is, moreover, one of the most patent facts of history that though the true poet's reward lies not with his contemporaries, but with posterity, yet that reward is certain as is the rising of the stars :

My poet holds the future fast,
 Accepts the coming age's duty,
 Their present for this past.

Keats who fished the murex up, the Tyrian shell enclosing the dye of dyes, may have subsisted meagrely on porridge, whilst Hobbs, Nobbs, Stokes and Nokes, putting blue into their line, gorged on turtle and claret. But Keats's light was saved only in due course to be spent in grander effulgence. It was a light helping wayfarers to find a footing in the well-nigh impenetrably dark world.

How, then, is the poet to serve mankind ? Though Browning is continually speaking his mind about the place of the artist in the world, it is much more the office of the painter and the musician about which he speaks than that of the poet. But their essential function is the same. There is, moreover, one poem in which he specifically indicates what a poet should do, and what he should not do. *Transcendentalism* distinguishes sharply between the versifier who expounds profound and mystical philosophy and the real poet who creates the things

the other writes thoughts about. The poem offers a real distinction between poetry and rhetoric on the one hand, and between poetry and thought on the other :

Stark naked thought is in request enough :
Speak prose and hollo it till Europe hears.

For its promulgation, a megaphone, not a harp, is the fitting instrument. But stark-naked thought, and even mystified philosophies like Jacob Boehme's, with subtler meanings of what roses say, are not poetry. The poet is some stout mage like him of Halberstadt, John, who made things Boehme wrote thoughts about. He—that is the poet—

He, with a " look you ! " vents a brace of rhymes,
And in there breaks the sudden rose herself,
Over us, under, round us every side,
Nay, in and out the tables and chairs
And musty volumes, Boehme's book and all,—
Buries us with a glory, young once more,
Pouring heaven into this shut house of life.

The musician, Abt Vogler, also fastens on this creative function as the distinctive gift of the artist, though dramatically he exalts the musician's exercise of it as superior to that of painter or poet. Awe-struck at the palace of sound he has created whilst extemporising upon his organ, he contemplates the miracle of it :

All through my keys that gave their sounds to a wish of my soul,
All through my soul that praised as its wish flowed visibly forth,
All through music and me !

Had his work been a painter's or a poet's half the mystery of it would not have been perceived, for explanations of it would have been proffered, another exhibition of skill, another technical triumph :

. . . For think, had I painted the whole,
Why, there it had stood, to see, nor the process so wonder-worth :
Had I written the same, made verse—still, effect proceeds from cause,
Ye know why the forms are fair, ye hear how the tale is told ;
It is all triumphant art, but art in obedience to laws,
Painter and poet are proud in the artist-list enrolled !

But, as it is, sheer music, it is indubitably the inexplicable manifestation of a miracle—man's one gift whereby he comes nearest in power to God :

But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
 Existent behind laws, that made them and, lo, they are !
 And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
 That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.
 Consider it well : each tone of our scale in itself is nought ;
 It is everywhere in the world—loud, soft, and all is said :
 Give it to me to use ! I mix it with two in my thought :
 And there ! Ye have heard and seen : consider and bow the head !

In *The Ring and the Book*, Browning dwells at some length on the creative function of the poet's imagination and on the relation between poetic fiction and historic fact in the elucidation of ultimate truth. Poetry of the dramatic or informally dramatic kind is "mimic creation, galvanism for life," which is as close to divine creation as man can reach and is manifestly a glory portioned in the scale. The poet

Repeats God's process in man's due degree,
 Attaining man's proportionate result,—
 Creates, no, but resuscitates, perhaps.
 Inalienable, the arch-prerogative
 Which turns thought, act—conceives, expresses too !
 No less, man, bounded, yearning to be free,
 May so project his surplusage of soul
 In search of body, so add self to self
 By owning what lay ownerless before,—
 So find, so fill full, so appropriate forms—
 That, although nothing which had never life
 Shall get life from him, be, not having been,
 Yet, something dead may get to live again,
 Something with too much life or not enough,
 Which, either way imperfect, ended once :
 An end whereat man's impulse intervenes,
 Makes new beginning, starts the dead alive,
 Completes the incomplete and saves the thing.

It is a repetition of Elisha's feat :

" 'Tis a credible feat
 With the right man and way."

As Browning's argument runs in the above passage, he has passed from a description of the faculty of imaginative creation to an assertion of its value to man in his primary task of living rightly :

it is the glory and the good of Art
That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth.

Fra Lippo Lippi, with less concern for the philosophic explanation of artistic creation, is more immediately occupied in telling what the artist does and in pointing out what good may come from his so doing. The painter, excited by the sight of beauty about him, transfers the image to his canvas, and so reveals to the world a beauty for which it had hitherto had no eyes :

For, don't you mark ? we're made so that we love
First when we see them painted, things we have passed
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see ;
And so they are better, painted—better to us,
Which is the same thing. Art was given for that ;
God uses us to help each other so,
Lending our minds out.

As man's responsiveness to larger and larger visions of more and more beauty increases, he is deepening his understanding of the universe :

. . . You've seen the world
—The beauty and the wonder and the power,
The shapes of things, their colours, lights and shades,
Changes, surprises,—and God made it all !
For what ? Do you feel thankful, ay or no,
For this fair town's face, yonder river's line,
The mountain round it and the sky above,
Much more the figures of man, woman, child,
These are the frame to.

Even if he feels no further impulse to delve into the mysteries of nature, he has a sufficient reward :

Or say there's beauty with no soul at all—
(I never saw it—put the case the same—)
If you get simple beauty and nought else,
You get about the best thing God invents :
That's somewhat : and you'll find the soul you have missed,
Within yourself, when you return him thanks.

But for most who have been stirred by the artist's joy in beauty there are further questionings :

. . . What is it all about ?
 To be passed over, despised ? or dwelt upon,
 Wondered at ? oh, this last of course !—you say.
 . . . Oh, oh,
 It makes me mad to see when men shall do
 And we in our graves ! This world's no blot for us,
 Nor blank ; it means intensely and means good :
 To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

As it is Lippo who is expounding his view of art as a way to truth, no one will mistake it for a proposition that the final value of painting lies in its didactic efficiency. He has always had the preachers against him :

“ Ay, but you don't so instigate to prayer ! ”
 Strikes in the Prior : “ when your meaning's plain
 “ It does not say to folk—remember matins,
 “ Or, mind you fast next Friday ! ”

And he is contemptuous of their desire to moralise art :

. . . Why, for this
 What need of art at all ? A skull and bones,
 Two bits of stick nailed crosswise, or, what's best,
 A bell to chime the hour with, does as well.

And he is scornful of those whose moral nature is so excited by his life-like representation of the slaves who are toasting St. Laurence on a grid-iron that they have gratified their indignation by scratching out the faces of the slaves in their religious fervour.

Nor is it difficult to see how Browning reconciles his objection to the pseudo-poet of *Transcendentalism* with his assertion of the high spiritual worth of art. It is bound up with his belief in “ the moment,” his sense that under the stress of circumstance when the whole conscious and sub-conscious being is mightily stirred, there come intuitive apprehensions of essential life which can be excited in no other way. These constitute for man a fuller, a profounder, and a truer awareness of the universe than do his less excited, less impassioned, more casual,

more orderly and more rational perceptions. They are the moments

Sure though seldom . . .
 When the spirits true endowments
 Stand out plainly from its false ones,
 And apprise it if pursuing
 Or the right way or the wrong way
 To its triumph or undoing.
 There are flashes struck from midnights,
 There are fire-flames noondays kindle,
 Whereby piled-up honours perish,
 Whereby swollen ambitions dwindle,
 While just this or that poor impulse
 Which, for once, had play unstified,
 Seems the sole work of a life-time
 That away the rest have trifled.

Most commonly, and for most people, these moments are manifested when they are struck by the love of woman. Their validity, however, in these cases is conditioned so variously by the inexhaustible variations of human personality. But the artist is one whose personality is especially rich in the sensitiveness favourable to the excitation of these moments of vision. Hence he not only has his own richer store of visions to pass on to the rest of us ; he has also the faculty not only to pass on the vision but to excite in us the apprehensiveness which gives us the faculty of experiencing the vision for ourselves. His work is literally a revelation, and carries the conviction of actual revelation. He is, next to God, the surest guide to truth :

How look a brother in the face and say
 " Thy right is wrong, eyes hast thou yet art blind,
 " Thine ears are stuffed and stopped, despite their length :
 " And, oh, the foolishness thou countest faith ! "
 Say this as silverly as tongue can troll—
 The anger of the man may be endured,
 The shrug, the disappointed eyes of him
 Are not so bad to bear—but here's the plague,
 That all this trouble comes of telling truth,
 Which truth, by when it reaches him, looks false,
 Seems to be just the thing it would supplant,
 Nor recognizable by whom it left :
 While falsehood would have done the work of truth.

But Art,—wherein man nowise speaks to men,
Only to mankind,—Art may tell a truth
Obliquely, do the thing shall breed the thought,
Nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.
So may you paint your picture, twice show truth,
Beyond mere imagery on the wall,—
So, note by note, bring music from your mind,
Deeper than ever e'en Beethoven dived,—
So write a book shall mean beyond the facts,
Suffice the eye and save the soul beside.

THE GOSPELS AS HISTORY : A RECONSIDERATION.¹

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THE study of the Gospels at the present time exhibits a marked reaction away from the methods dominant in the period before the War. The aim of Gospel criticism was defined as "the quest of the historical Jesus." It was assumed that a minute critical analysis and assessment of the documents might succeed in eliminating from the record a mass of intrusive material due to the thought and experience of the early Church. When this was done, the residuum would lie before us as a solid nucleus of bare facts, upon which we might put our own interpretation, without regard to the interpretation offered by the early Church in the documents themselves. In contrast with this, the dominant tendency at the present time is to emphasize the character of the Gospels as religious and not historical documents, to decry the significance of mere facts, if they could be ascertained, and to be sceptical about the prospect of ascertaining them. The reasons for the change of outlook and method are no doubt partly to be sought in the apprehension that the older method of Gospel criticism was leading to barren results ; but I think that more important reasons lie in the field of general theological thought. There has been a revolt against what is called "historicism," and a renewed interest in Christian dogma, and therefore in the dogmatic aspect of the Gospels. The home of pure "historicism" was Germany, and it is in Germany that the reaction against it is most intense. In that country the pendulum is apt to swing with a violence unknown to us here. In the main, theology in this country, while it

¹ An expansion of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 18th of November, 1937.

acknowledged and used the methods of historical criticism in which Germany led the way, never quite committed itself to the extreme positions of the critical-historical school. We are ready to listen to the teachings of the newer school perhaps without feeling that we must repudiate so ruthlessly as they do our former ways of thought. It is certainly all to the good that we should be reminded that the Gospels were not written, primarily, from historical, or even biographical motives. They were written "from faith to faith," to use a Pauline phrase. That is to say, they were written as confessions of faith in Jesus Christ, and as the means of creating such faith in their readers. A method of studying them which entails the deliberate neglect of those elements in them which reflect the faith of the Church, as the method of the older critical school tended to do, sets aside just that element in them which in the eyes of their writers made them worth writing. They did not write to gratify our curiosity about what happened in the past, but to bear witness to the revelation of God.

While, however, I believe that this shift of emphasis has reinvigorated the study of the Gospels, I think some of its most ardent advocates are not sufficiently aware that it does not, after all, dispense us from the duty of asking, and if possible answering, the historical question. The Gospels are primarily religious documents: granted. But they are *Christian* documents; and it belongs to the specific character of Christianity that it is an historical religion; that it witnesses to a revelation of God *in history*. It is not unfair to say that some theologians of the new school, in their horror of "historicism," are verging incautiously upon a new docetism. Some religions can be completely indifferent to historical fact, and move entirely on the plane of timeless truth. The Christian religion cannot. It rests upon the affirmation that a series of events happened, "under Pontius Pilate," by which God revealed Himself in action for the salvation of men. The Gospels, which are the fundamental documents of this religion, profess to tell what it was that happened. They do not, it is true, set out to gratify a purely historical curiosity about past events, but they do set out to nurture faith upon the testimony to such events. It remains therefore a question of

acute interest to the student of Christianity, whether this testimony is, in fact, true. A New Testament writer, contrasting Christianity with other forms of belief, declares, "We have not followed cunningly devised myths."¹ Is his claim justified? Is the Gospel story history, or symbolic fiction?

It will be well to premise a few remarks upon what is meant by history. There are innumerable things that happen, in the sense that they have a definite *locus* in time and space; but no one is sufficiently interested in them to remember or record them. Such occurrences do not constitute history. Before we can speak of history, even in a rudimentary sense, there must be events which possess an interest and a meaning for at least a group of individuals, who for the sake of that interest and that meaning remember them, recall them in conversation, and perhaps ultimately record them for a wider circle. History in the full sense consists of events which possess not merely a private but a public interest, and a meaning which relates itself to broad and permanent concerns of human society. Thus historical writing is never a mere record of occurrences as such. It is, at least implicitly, a record of the interest felt in these occurrences, and of a meaning which they bore for those who took part in them, or observed them from a greater or less distance of time and space. The most rudimentary kind of history is the chronicle, the public equivalent of the private diary. But what indefatigable Pepys ever entrusted to his most private pages *every* single thing that happened even on one day of his life? And what chronicler ever recorded *every* event of each year enumerated in his lists? Both must select; and the motive of selection is to be found in the private or public interest evoked by occurrences. But neither diary nor chronicle is history in the full sense. Historical writing differs from these, not in the fullness or precision with which it records events, but in the truth and clarity with which its record brings out the meaning of the events.

We should further observe that as events differ in the intensity of meaning they possess for the experient of them, so one event will differ from another in requiring a larger or a smaller degree of interpretation if it is to be faithfully reported. Thus, if

¹ II Peter i, 16.

you were giving evidence in court about a motor accident of which you were a witness, you would do well to confine yourself to bare facts. But if you tried to describe in an intimate letter the event known as "falling in love," the record of bare facts—what you said and what she said, what you did and what she did, on that memorable occasion—would convey nothing. The meaning is everything. Similarly among events of public interest there are some which can be adequately recorded as a series of bare occurrences—as for example the story of a scientific invention. There are others which can take their true place in an historical record only as they are interpreted, as for example, the beginning of the Reformation at Wittenberg, or the fall of the Bastille, or the abdication of King Edward VIII. It is true that the element of interpretation opens the door to all the fallibilities of the human mind, but the point is that the attempt to rule out any interpretation in such cases inevitably suggests a false interpretation. The events are such that the meaning of what happened is of greater importance, historically speaking, than what happened. There are even events of outstanding historical importance in which practically nothing at all happened, in the ordinary external sense of happening. It was simply that the meaning of the whole situation changed for an individual or a group, and from that change of meaning a chain of happenings ensued. Such events were the call of the prophet Isaiah, and the conversion of St. Ignatius Loyola, and the mysterious inward process that made the house-painter Adolf Hitler into the hope or the terror of Europe.

Now it is clear that the events narrated in the Gospels differ among themselves in this respect. The trial and crucifixion of Jesus could be recorded as bare fact. Tacitus reports it thus: "The originator of that name (*scil.* the name 'Christian'), Christ, was executed in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilate" (Ann. XV, 44). So far as that sentence goes, it is a purely factual record. But the context in which it stands, referring to Christianity as *exitiabilis superstitio*, supplies an interpretation. Indeed, an historian who records the death of any man is bound to suggest at least the reason why this death should be singled out from the myriads of deaths that happen every day,

and to that extent to interpret its meaning. Without such meaning, no man's death is an historical event, in the strict sense of the term. The Talmud, again, records that "they hanged Jesus on the eve of Passover . . . because he practised sorcery and led Israel astray."¹ A Syriac philosopher of (probably) the early second century alludes to the fact that the Jews killed "their wise King," as an historical example of persecution of the wise and virtuous, along with the deaths of Socrates and Pythagoras.² That is a more sympathetic interpretation of the fact. The Gospels record the same occurrence, with a different interpretation of its meaning. The *occurrence*, we may say, is the same; the *event* emerges as something different.

There are, however, other events narrated in the Gospels where the element of mere occurrence is evanescent. For example, if we ask what lies behind the story of the Temptation, it is likely enough that the merely factual element was as elusive as in the cases of Isaiah, Ignatius Loyola and Adolf Hitler to which I have referred. But it is quite another question whether or not the Gospels are veracious in affirming that the ministry of Jesus was introduced by an event of profound significance, an event in which the element of meaning altogether overshadows the tenuous substratum of observable fact. Again, what was the Resurrection, as mere occurrence? Various theories can be suggested—a corpse was resuscitated; or there were communications from the dead, like those claimed by modern mediums; or the disciples were the victims of corporate hallucinations. These are all theories abstracted from the record of the complete event, and it is impossible to produce convincing evidence for any of them. The complete event, that is to say the occurrence, whatever it was, *plus* the meaning it bore for those who experienced it, is given in the Gospels: Christ triumphed over death and was raised to the right hand of God. It is as thus interpreted that the Resurrection led to historical consequences in the rise of the Church.

But while the several events narrated in the Gospels are in this respect on different levels, the narrative as a whole is clearly

¹ Bab. Sanhidrin, f. 43a.

² Letter of Mara bar Sarapion, in Curedon, *Spicilegium Syriacum*.

concerned with an historical episode which for those who lived through it, or for those who experienced it through close fellowship with them, bore a weight of meaning greater than could be attributed to any other event in history. It was for them the *eschaton*, the final and absolute event, in which the Kingdom of God was revealed, and His purpose fulfilled. And we must observe that it was as thus understood that the episode in question won its place in history, as an "epoch-making" event in the strict sense. But for the fact that it was so interpreted—or rather (for "interpreted" suggest too self-conscious a process) that it presented itself to experience with this meaning—it might be not inadequately summed up in the words of Tacitus, and so dismissed. But we are surely justified in saying at least this much, that a supercilious and somewhat cynical Roman aristocrat, with all the prejudices of his class, regarding the episode entirely from the outside, at a date later than the bulk of our New Testament evidence, and at a great distance from the scene of action, is not *a priori* likely to have formed a juster estimate of its significance than those who stood under the immediate impact of the facts. The assumption that the whole great course of Christian history is a massive pyramid balanced upon the apex of some trivial occurrence, is surely a less probable one than that the whole event, the occurrence *plus* the meaning inherent in it, did actually occupy a place in history at least comparable with that which the New Testament assigns to it.

The outcome of all this is that we are not to seek in the Gospels a plain record of bare fact. The conditions in which they were produced did not allow of that. But the record in its actual form, in which the facts appear in a setting which interpreted them, is not for that reason unhistorical. At the same time we must recognize the inevitable presence in such a record of human fallibility. Even if we were disposed in the interests of a theory to deny it, the observation that the four Gospels often differ both in matters of fact and in interpretation of fact is enough to show that their record is not in any case inerrant. They were written from thirty-five to seventy-five years (or so) after the event, and we have no reason to assume that the writers were supernaturally protected from the natural infirmities to

which the human mind is liable. It is necessary therefore to deal critically with the documents in order to get back to the earliest, the best-accredited and the most influential form of the tradition.

The Gospel according to Mark is the earliest of the four, to be dated probably in the late sixties of the first century. Matthew and Luke may be placed, roughly, between 75 and 90, and John perhaps between 90 and 110. Clearly Mark is of great importance, since it takes us back to within about thirty-five years of the events. But thirty-five years is still a long time. How are we to bridge the gap?

One method is to attempt to associate our documents directly with eyewitnesses. Thus Mark is regarded as being the work of a companion of the apostle Peter, and preserving his reminiscences. The First Gospel is traditionally attributed to the apostle Matthew. When that view is rejected, the attempt is made to associate the apostle Matthew with a document believed to lie behind the Gospel bearing his name. The argument then runs that allowing for the infirmities of memory natural to two somewhat elderly apostles, we are in almost direct contact with the best possible kind of authority—that of the original eyewitnesses. Now it is, I think, highly probable that the Gospel according to Mark has some special relation to the tradition as handed down by Peter. But examination shows that it is impossible to regard the *whole* of this Gospel as direct Petrine reminiscence. Indeed the very arguments by which a Petrine derivation is made probable for certain sections tell against such a derivation for other sections. Thus the appeal to eye-witness is an appeal to something which must itself be established by other arguments, and not to something that can be assumed as fundamental. The Matthæan origin of “Q” is much more uncertain; and if Philip be made guarantor for some of the special Lucan traditions, and the Beloved Disciple for some of the Johannine, in each case it is the character of the material that makes such derivation likely, and not the certainty of the derivation that guarantees the material. In itself, the attempt to find individual guarantors for various parts of the tradition is precarious, and does not carry us very far.

The whole tendency of recent criticism is rather to think of the Gospels as the deposit, or crystallization, of various aspects of a living and continuous tradition, embodied and expressed in the life of a community. This tradition is witnessed to by other New Testament documents. The Epistles set before us a first-hand picture of the early Church as a community in being. Its life and thought are seen to be controlled by constant reference to two main factors, described as the Gospel of Christ and the Law of Christ. The Gospel, which is the theme of the "preaching" (*kerygma*) of the Church, is a story of a divine act for the salvation of men, manifested on the stage of history, in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. The Law of Christ is a body of ethical "teaching" (*didaché*) carrying the authority of Jesus. It is noteworthy that several of the Pauline epistles fall naturally into two sections, a theological section, which expounds and defends the implications of the Gospel; and an ethical section, which sets forth the application of the Law of Christ. It is clear that the epistles presuppose a double tradition, of the story of Jesus and of His teaching, which is assumed to be known and accepted by their readers.

Now Paul regarded himself, in spite of his claim to independence and originality in the presentation of the Gospel, as the bearer of a tradition which was common to the whole apostolic body. "Whether I or they, it was thus that we preached, and thus that you believed" (I Cor. xv, 11). In the immediate context he cites as from this common tradition the statements "that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and was seen of Cephas (and others)." Elsewhere he reports, as something "received from the Lord" (i.e. as primitive tradition), the story of the Last Supper (I Cor. xi, 23-26). This does not exhaust what Paul knows regarding the life of Jesus. He mentions the fact that He was born a Jew,¹ claiming descent from David;² that He had several brothers,

¹ Gal. iv, 4; Rom. ix, 5.

² Rom. i, 3. Paul shows elsewhere no interest in the Davidic descent of Jesus; we must suppose that he is here referring to generally accepted tradition.

including one named James,¹ whom Paul knew quite well ; ² that He worked among Jews, and not among Gentiles,³ and that the Jews were responsible for His death, although He actually died by the Roman method of crucifixion.⁴ He is also acquainted with a recognized tradition of the sayings of Jesus, two of which he quotes explicitly,⁵ while there is so much beside in Paul's ethical teaching which directly or indirectly recalls the actual words of the Gospels that we must suppose that both he and his converts were acquainted with a collection of sayings of Jesus, similar to those collections which have been used by the Evangelists. Further, Paul has a definite conception of the character of Jesus. Not only does he emphasize His righteousness and obedience (which might be taken as general or conventional), but he notes as His outstanding traits of character gentleness, forbearance,⁶ humility,⁷ and a complete absence of self-seeking.⁸ These traits are expressly held up for the imitation of Christians.⁹ Moreover, after Paul in Rom. xii-xiii has set forth the Christian moral ideal in some detail, he sums up in the words, "Put on the Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁰ This surely implies that the moral ideal he has set forth is that embodied in the character of Jesus.

The facts to which Paul alludes regarding the Jesus of history

¹ I Cor. ix, 5.

² Gal. i, 19.

³ Rom. xv, 8. Paul must here be controlled by the tradition. If it had been possible to aver that Jesus had preached to Gentiles, this would have been a valuable asset to Paul in his controversy with the Judaizing Christians.

⁴ I Thess. ii, 15, *et passim*. To say that the Jews 'killed the Lord Jesus,' and that He died by crucifixion, looks like a formal contradiction, since crucifixion was not a form of execution known to Jewish law. The statement, however, quoted here from the Talmud shows that the Jews accepted responsibility, and the situation described in the Gospels, in which the Jewish authorities take the initiative, while Pilate pronounces condemnation, explains the apparent contradiction in Paul.

⁵ I Cor. vii, 10 ; ix, 14. Both these sayings are in the Gospels.

⁶ II Cor. x, 1.

⁷ Phil. ii, 7-8. Observe that the *ταπείνωσις* is not the Incarnation, which is described in the words *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν*. *As a man* (*εὔρεθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος*) Christ humbled Himself.

⁸ Rom. xv, 2-3.

⁹ Cf. I Cor. xi, 1 ; I Thess. i, 6. Observe that these passages exclude the idea that Paul is referring to an ideal Messianic figure and not to the Jesus of history, for Christ is an object of invitation in the same sense as Paul himself is.

¹⁰ Rom. xiii, 14.

are always related to His Messianic office and destiny. Then, it may be argued, how do we know that Paul is not describing an ideal Messianic figure, and not an historical person? The answer is that his account of Jesus as Messiah, while it corresponds to the one essential point in the Messianic idea without which Messiahship is meaningless—that the Messiah is the divinely appointed Head of the people of God, and the bearer of His Kingdom to the whole world—in all other respects represents the Jewish Messianic idea reversed. The Messiah should have exhibited the attributes of power and dominion on earth; instead, He “took the form of a slave.” He should have united Israel under His sway; instead, He was rejected by Israel. He should have vindicated the Law; instead, He died under the curse of the Law as a malefactor. The phenomenon of a “crucified Messiah” was a “scandal” to the Jews. It could not have come from anywhere except out of history. To the Pauline historical data, therefore, we must add that Jesus came as Messiah, and (by implication) that it was as such that He was killed by the Jews; and that His death was the result of a conflict with the Law. These data we shall find reappearing in the Gospels.

The Pauline testimony, therefore, is all of a piece. He attests the character of Jesus, something of His life and death, and something of His teaching; and he assigns Him His place in history as a crucified Messiah. This testimony is of the utmost importance, since we know that Paul came into the Church (which he already knew before his conversion) within seven years (probably less) from the Crucifixion; that he was well acquainted with Peter, John, and James, the brother of Jesus; and that for all his differences of opinion, he never differed from them in his conception of the fundamental tradition.

Nor is Paul our only witness outside the Gospels. The anonymous author to the Hebrews refers in the same allusive way as Paul to generally accepted facts about Jesus. He knows that He was of the tribe of Judah;¹ that He preached salvation as the first Apostle of the faith;² that He was faithful and obedient to

¹ Heb. vii, 14.

² ii, 3; iii, 1.

God,¹ learning obedience by suffering ; ² that He was tempted, without falling into sin ; ³ that He met with great opposition ; ⁴ that He prayed to be saved from death ; ⁵ that He was crucified ⁶ outside the gate (of Jerusalem) ; ⁷ and that He rose again.⁸ There is no suggestion that the author was dependent for these facts upon any of our written Gospels. He says that he and his readers had received the Gospel from the original hearers of Jesus,⁹ and we may accept him as one more witness to the common tradition.

In the Acts of the Apostles we have a report of the preaching of the apostles, from which it seems possible to reconstruct (in summary) a formulated statement of the tradition which is presupposed, and referred to allusively, in the epistles.¹⁰ It contains, especially in the form given in Acts x, 36-43, a brief outline of the main facts of the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, similar to that which is implied in I Cor. xv, 3-7.

Apart from the Gospels, then, we can recover from the New Testament a clearly articulated picture of the place which the historical tradition of Jesus occupied in the life and thought of the early Church. The Gospels represent the gathering together of this tradition about a central strand of testimony embodied from the first in the preaching (*kerygma*) of the Church, as well as in the teaching (*didaché*) by which its ethical ideals were set forth. The two factors, preaching and teaching, the Gospel and the Law of Christ, reappear in our Gospels. Of our two earliest Gospel sources, Mark represents primarily the story about Jesus, and " Q " the teaching of Jesus.

The Gospel according to Mark, which is the basis of all the others, may be described, if regard be paid to the emphasis and proportion of the story, as a full account of the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and of the events which directly led up to this crisis, prefaced by an unsystematic collection of episodes from His ministry.¹¹ Its general structure can be shown to be determined by an outline similar to those which may be inferred

¹ Heb. iii, 2 ; x, 5-9.

² ii, 10 ; v, 8.

³ ii, 18 ; iv, 15.

⁴ xii, 3.

⁵ v, 7.

⁶ xii, 2.

⁷ xiii, 12.

⁸ xiii, 20 ; x, 12.

⁹ ii, 3.

¹⁰ See my book, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, pp 29-47.

¹¹ *The Apostolic Preaching*, pp. 104-118.

from the data in the rest of the New Testament.¹ Whatever elements, therefore, of later development may be recognized, the Gospel story as we have it in our canonical Gospels lies within a framework which can be traced to the earliest days of Christianity. The primitive preaching postulates the historical reality of the main facts, and so acted as a preservative of the historical tradition, over against any attempt (such as exhibited itself notably in Gnosticism) to devalue the historical element in Christianity.

So far as we have gone at present, it might be the case that the detail of the Gospel story is the product of the mind of the Church working within the framework of the *kerygma*, or apostolic preaching. But we have, in any case, to account for the *kerygma* itself. A true historical perspective suggests that it would be nearer the truth to say that the *kerygma*, or the facts and beliefs involved in it, created the community, than to say that the community created the *kerygma*. The Church formulated it, no doubt, but except upon the hypothesis that something happened of which the apostolic preaching gives an account, we can assign no adequate reason for the emergence of the Church.

The Gospels, however, as they stand, belong to a comparatively late period. The authority to be attached to their evidence in detail will depend upon the earlier sources, written or oral, from which the Evangelists may be supposed to have drawn their material. There are two lines of investigation to be followed: (i) "source-criticism," which deals with the written documents, and seeks to establish their proximate sources; and (ii) "form-criticism," which seeks to reconstruct the oral tradition lying behind the proximate written sources.

I assume that the main results of source-criticism are familiar. Mark is the earliest Gospel. Matthew and Luke depend largely upon it as a source. They also depend upon a lost document, denominated "Q," which may be conjecturally dated to about the same period, the sixties of the first century. The "Q" material can be isolated for study, and Mark and "Q" can be compared. The importance of such a comparison rests upon the

¹ See my article, "The Framework of the Gospel Narration" in *Expository Times*, vol. xliii, no. 9, pp. 396 sqq.

facts that the two sources belong to different geographical areas (Mark, Western ; "Q," Eastern), and to different circles in the Church ; and that the interest and purpose of the two are quite different. Mark, as we have seen, represents primarily the Gospel story which goes back to the primitive preaching (*kerygma*) ; "Q" the tradition of the sayings of Jesus which was embodied in the teaching (*didaché*) of the Church. In so far therefore as we can recognize convergences or cross-correspondences between the two, they carry us back to a state of the tradition much earlier than the time to which Mark and "Q" belong. In point of fact, attentive study of the material reveals a considerable number of such correspondences.¹ From the data attested by Mark and "Q" in conjunction we can derive a clear and relatively full picture of the character of the ministry of Jesus. This picture is based upon evidence which, when allowance is made for the time required for the tradition to develop in the two directions represented by Mark and by "Q" respectively, can hardly be later than, say, the forties. It may be used as a criterion for estimating the value of other material in Mark and "Q," as well as in the other Gospels. By the use of such a criterion, it becomes clear that the general impression produced by the Synoptic Gospels as a whole is in harmony with this early and central tradition, with expansions which do not alter its character, but that there are sections of these Gospels, and still more of the Fourth Gospel, which lie somewhat off the line of this tradition, and may turn out to be of only secondary historical value.

Form-criticism is so called because it starts from the forms or patterns in which the material is presented, and seeks to draw conclusions from these forms with regard to the character of various parts of the tradition in the oral stage which lies behind the written Gospels. Its method, as distinguished from that of source-criticism, may be illustrated in this way. The source-

¹ A list of doubly-attested sayings is given in Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 147-68. For our purpose not only such sayings come into view, but also those cases where the two documents confirm one another implicitly. It should also be added that in some cases, as for example, in predictions of the Second Advent, Mark and "Q" represent different and *prima facie* inconsistent traditions. Those points in which they agree obviously carry the greater weight when we are seeking for the central tradition.

critic takes, for example, the story of the Withered Hand (Mk. iii, 1-6 and parallels). By a minute comparison of the actual wording in the three Gospels he concludes (a) that this story was taken by Matthew and Luke from Mark, and (b) that Matthew has expanded it by the addition of a saying which is found elsewhere in Luke, and so was probably drawn from "Q." The form-critic, on the other hand, will take the same story, and observe that its pattern consists of three elements only—setting, action, and significant saying. He then points out that the same pattern is found, not only in the similar story of the Dropsy (Lk. xiv, 2-6) but also in sections whose content is quite different, e.g. the stories of the Blessing of the Children, of the Feast with Publicans and Sinners, and of the Anointing at Bethany. With only slight variations in the pattern a whole class of such stories can be collected, and can be compared and contrasted with other stories which have a different pattern. Similarly the Gospel Sayings can be classified, for example, as parables, poetical utterances, and prose aphorisms.

It is not necessary here to supply a detailed classification of the material, such as form-criticism seeks to provide. It is enough to note certain characteristics of the material.

(i) Apart from the long and sustained narrative of the Passion, the bulk of the oral tradition seems to have been in the form of brief stories and sayings, each of which aims at setting forth clearly and vividly some one main point.

(ii) It is thus possible in most cases to recognize the interest or motive which led to the formulation and preservation of the tradition. The interest is seldom directly biographical. Such biographical information as we can glean is all the more significant because it is imparted incidentally.

(iii) More often the interest is related to some theme belonging either to the preaching (*kerygma*) or to the teaching (*didaché*) of the early Church. In each case the tradition was open to the possibility of being modified under the influence of some special homiletical or didactic motive, but in each case also, the nearer a particular story or saying stands to the primitive and permanent concerns of the Church, the more sure we may be that it belongs to the central tradition.

(iv) Sometimes the mere form of a unit of the tradition permits an estimate of its probable historical value. Thus, it is generally recognized that the parables as a whole have a strikingly individual style and character, which encourages the belief that they belong to the most original and authentic part of the tradition. Many of the aphoristic sayings on the other hand have little individual stamp, but are of the nature of current proverbs, so that it is hard to say whether they were coined by Jesus Himself, or taken by Him or His followers from a common stock. Similarly some of the stories have a suspicious resemblance in style and character to folk stories current in the Jewish or the Hellenistic world, while others have a unique form which seems to have been the product of the Christian genius.

(v) It is often possible to infer the situation in the life of the Church in which a particular element of the tradition had special significance. Thus such a story as that of the Coin in the Fish's Mouth had obvious pertinence to the question of the payment of the Temple tax by Jewish Christians who no longer felt themselves to be within the Jewish community. That question is hardly likely to have become acute in the stage of Church life represented by the early chapters of Acts, and still less likely during the lifetime of Jesus. The story is suspected, not without good reason, of being a later accretion. On the other hand, such passages as those in which Jesus is challenged to give a sign from heaven, or accused of casting out demons by Beelzebul, may indeed have had apologetical value in the Church's conflict with Jewish opponents, but no "setting in life" is so natural or appropriate as their ostensible setting in the life of Jesus Himself, who, as Jewish tradition avers, was accused of sorcery. We can scarcely doubt that they belong to the primary tradition.

If we ask what is the chief value of the method of form-criticism for our immediate purpose, I should answer that it enables us to study our material in fresh groupings, which point to distinct strains of tradition, preserved from different motives, and in some measure through different channels, and to compare these strains of tradition much as we compared the written sources, Mark and "Q," in search of cross-correspondences and

convergences. I will give an example. Take the following sections of the Gospels :

1. The Call of Levi (Mk. ii, 14).
2. The Feast with Publicans and Sinners (Mk. ii, 15-17).
3. Zacchæus (Lk. xix, 1-10).
4. The Sinful Woman in Simon's House (Lk. vii, 36-48).
5. The Woman taken in Adultery (Jn. vii, 53-viii, 11).
6. The Parable of the Lost Sheep (Lk. xv, 1-7, Mt. xviii, 12-13).
7. The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk. xviii, 10-14).
8. The Parable of the Children in the Market-place (Mt. xi, 16-19, Lk. vii, 31-35—"Q").
9. The saying, "The publicans and harlots enter the Kingdom of God before you" (Mt. xxi, 31-32).

Here we have a great variety of traditional "forms"—aphorisms, parables, poetical sayings, dialogues, stories of various kinds—taken from all four main strata of the Synoptic Gospels (Mark, "Q," Matthew's special source, and Luke's special source), as well as from some unknown source which has entered into some MSS. of John and some of Luke.¹ The underlying motives are various. No. 4 is primarily teaching on forgiveness, No. 7, teaching on prayer, No. 6 deals with the Gospel theme of the grace of God. Nos. 8 and 9 are simple comments upon the actual situation in the ministry of Jesus, the former in a poetical and parabolic form, the latter in aphoristic form. But all of them in their different ways exhibit Jesus as an historical Personality distinguished from other religious personalities of His time by His friendly attitude to the outcasts of society. This convergence of a great variety of strands of tradition is impressive. We may surely say, on strictly critical grounds, that we have here a well-attested historical fact.² This fact stands independently of the

¹ The *pericopé adultiræ* is absent from our best MSS., with one single exception. Of the MSS. which contain it, some give it in Jn. vii, 53-viii, 11, some at the end of Jn. i, and some after Lk. xxi, 38. The story appears to have been given also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It was evidently a piece of floating tradition.

² It is interesting to observe how this fact emerges in a fresh guise in the epistles. "This man receiveth sinners," says the Lucan tradition (xv, 2): "receive one another as Christ received you," says Paul (Rom. xv, 7). "A friend of publicans and sinners," says the "Q" tradition (Mt. xi, 19); "God commendeth

historical status of the several stories in detail. Thus the story of the Woman taken in Adultery is poorly attested, being in fact no part of our canonical Gospels according to the best MSS. But the implications of the story regarding the attitude of Jesus to the sinful and to the self-righteous are in agreement with a whole body of evidence, and represent the witness of the central tradition.

As another example, take the following passages :

1. Rejection at Nazareth, with the saying about a prophet at home (Mk. vi, 1-6, Lk. iv, 15-30).
2. The Mother and the Brethren (Mk. iii, 31-35).
3. Jesus and His brethren (Jn. vii, 1-9).
4. The saying, "The foxes have holes . . ." (Mt. viii, 20, Lk. ix, 56-"Q").
5. The command to "hate" father and mother (Lk. xiv, 26, Mt. x, 37-"Q").
6. The Call of the Sons of Zebedee (Mk. i, 19-20).

The motive of No. 1 is the theme of the rejection of the Messiah by His own people, which appears also in Gospel sayings like Mt. xxiii, 37-39, Lk. xiii, 34-35, and underlies Jn. i, 11, Rom. ix-xi, and numerous other passages. The motive of Nos. 4 and 5 is teaching (*didaché*) about the conditions of Christian discipleship, and the same motive probably led to the preservation of No. 2. No. 6 belongs to a whole class of stories of vocation (the call of Peter and Andrew, and of Levi, in the Synoptic Gospels, and of Philip in the Fourth Gospel). The motive of such stories seems to have been to establish the fact that certain persons in the early Church possessed the authority given by a direct call of Jesus.¹ But all five passages, however different their immediate motive, attest the fact that Jesus was during His ministry an exile from home and family.²

His love towards us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us," says Paul (Rom. v, 8). It would be perverse to suggest that the stories and sayings of the Gospels were developed out of the Pauline dogma, which in that case would hang in the air.

¹ Paul could produce no such *dossier*. He is concerned to show that he was nevertheless 'called to be an Apostle' (1 Cor. i, 1).

² Consider in the light of this, Paul's statement, in 2 Cor. viii, 9, "for our sakes He became poor." This statement is dogmatic in form, referring to the Incarnation, but its point is sharper if the readers are assumed to know the tradition that Jesus did, historically, embrace voluntary poverty, and had nowhere to lay His head.

We may take one more group :

1. The apocalyptic saying, " I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven " (Lk. x, 18).
2. The Parable of the Strong Man Bound (Mk. iii, 27, Lk. xi, 21-22).
3. The Temptation (Mt. iv, 1-11, Lk. iv, 1-13-"Q").
4. The controversial Dialogue on Exorcism (Mk. iii, 23-26, Mt. xii, 25-28, Lk. xi, 17-20-"Q").
5. The Demoniac in the Synagogue (Mk. i, 23-27).
6. The Gadarene Swine (Mk. v, 1-20).

No. 1 expresses epigrammatically, in apocalyptic form, the idea that with the coming of Christ the powers of evil succumb—an idea expressed also in such passages as Jn. xii, 31, xvi, 11, Col. ii, 15. The same idea is embodied in parabolic form in No. 2. No. 4 is apologetic in intention, as a defence of Jesus against the charge of sorcery which we know from Jewish sources to have been brought against Him. No. 3 we might take, in the light of Heb. ii, 15, as illustrating the theme, " tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin," but it also exhibits the triumph of Jesus over the powers of evil. It is in this context that we must read the stories of exorcism. No. 5 gives an example of the kind of story which must underlie the charge rebutted in No. 4. In No. 6 a similar story is elaborated in a way which makes it very like popular stories of wonder-workers current in the Hellenistic world, and in its present form it probably lies very far from the central line of tradition ; but it nevertheless preserves an element which is deeply embedded in the whole tradition of the words and works of Jesus.

It is in this manner that the whole question of the miracle-stories can best be approached. We do not argue—this particular story of miraculous healing can be shown to be vouched for by Peter as the guarantor of Mark, that one by Philip as the guarantor of Luke's special source, and so forth. We begin with the observation that various strains of tradition are concerned with the theme that through the work of Jesus men enter into a sphere of " salvation " (*σωτηρία*) as well for the body as the soul (e.g. the "Q" passage Mt. xi, 5, Lk. vii, 22). The statement that Jesus

wrought miraculous cures is embodied in the primitive *kerygma* (Ac. x, 38). That "miracles" were a matter of experience in the early Church we have first-hand evidence in Rom. xv, 19, I Cor. xii, 28, II Cor. xii, 12, Heb. ii, 4. Whatever therefore we may make of any particular miracle story, we are dealing with a tradition which, for better or worse, contained this kind of thing from the very beginning. Since, then, the most authentic tradition certainly contained some miracle-stories, we may attempt to distinguish those whose form and character link them closely with that tradition,¹ from others which show a suspicious resemblance to non-Christian popular tales of wonder-workers,² and assign to the former a superior historical status.

I will forbear to give further illustrations. But something must be said about the Passion-narrative in particular.³ Here source-criticism suggests that the Marcan narrative has been reproduced by Matthew with some alteration and expansion in details; that in Luke it has been combined with a narrative from a different source; and that John, while he is in some measure indebted to Mark, has in substance followed an independent tradition. Form-criticism can go further, and having regard to the allusions to the story of the Cross in the Epistles, and to the formulation of it in the apostolic preaching (*kerygma*) in Acts, will suggest that underlying our three primary accounts there is a common form or pattern of Passion-narrative which may represent the "recital" of the Lord's death which, Paul says, formed part of the celebration of the Eucharist.⁴ This pattern is constituted of nine episodes.

1. The Last Supper. Forecast of the treachery of Judas.
2. Forecast of Peter's denial, and of the desertion of the disciples.

¹ Such as the Withered Hand, which is inseparably bound up with teaching about the Sabbath; the Paralytic, which is similarly bound up with the proclamation of forgiveness through Jesus.

² Such as the Blind Man of Bethsaida (Mk. viii, 22-26), the Dumb Man of Decapolis (Mk. vii, 31-37) and the Gadarene Swine.

³ In what follows I differ widely from some of the Form-critics. The points cannot here be argued, but the line of argument is indicated.

⁴ I Cor. xi, 26. The evidence adduced in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.* s.v. ἀγγέλλω makes it almost certain that καταγγέλλετε refers to a verbal recital of the story of the Cross.

3. Retirement to a place on or near the Mount of Olives. Betrayal ; arrest ; desertion of disciples.
4. Examination before the High Priest. Peter's denial.
5. Trial before Pilate. Declaration of innocence. Condemnation as King of the Jews. Release of Barabbas.
6. Crucifixion at Golgotha.
7. Burial.
8. The Empty Tomb.
9. Appearances to disciples.¹

The Marcan, Lucan and Johannine accounts insert various additional episodes but all give these nine in the same relative order with a large amount of the same detail. All of them reflect the ideas of the *kerygma* in showing that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures," but the actual prophecies cited differ almost entirely in the three accounts. The general idea of fulfilment of prophecy is common to all, and (as we should infer from the *kerygma* itself) probably primitive, but the particular working out of this idea is part of the specialization of the tradition in its various forms. Again, all our accounts emphasize the fact that Jesus was put to death as Messiah, but while John (in his Passion-narrative) confines the Messianic idea almost entirely to its aspect of royalty, Mark connects it explicitly with the titles "Son of God" and "Son of Man." Each account again includes certain supernatural "signs" accompanying the death of Jesus, but again these belong to the specialization of the tradition and not to its common pattern. If we consider the form which is common to all, and represents therefore the central tradition, we are impressed by the objectivity of the record, and the absence of any such "theologizing" of the Passion as we might reasonably have expected. On all grounds it seems probable that in the Passion-narrative we are in close contact with the primitive tradition. The story was not produced either by the preaching of the early Church or by theological reflexion upon it. It is the story which underlies the *kerygma*, and provided the basis for the theology of the Epistles.

¹ The genuine text of Mark records no such appearances, being broken off at xvi, 8. But they are anticipated in xiv, 28 ; xvi, 7.

I have been able, in this lecture, to do no more than outline a method of criticism which promises a fresh approach to the problem of historicity. It is a method which does not aim, directly or in the main, at establishing a residuum of bare facts, presumed to stand independently of any meaning attached to them. The number of such facts which can be established by this or by any other method is strictly limited. The aim of this particular method is to recover the purest and most original form of the tradition, which inevitably includes both fact and interpretation. It starts from the existence of the early Church as itself an historical fact of great significance. By comparing the classical documents of the early Church—Epistles with Acts, Acts and Epistles as a whole with Gospels, and different elements in the Gospels with one another—it studies the formulation and growth of the tradition of Jesus and His teaching by which the Church lived. By analysis it discovers certain groupings and forms of material, and in each of them it recognizes a central and a peripheral element, a nucleus of firm tradition and a penumbra of secondary value. By this process it seeks to arrive at a clear conception of the central tradition as a whole, and to trace it to the earliest possible date. In so far as it is successful, it sets forth the primitive tradition, coeval with the Church itself. In this primitive tradition the facts are given from a particular point of view, and with a particular meaning. Apart from this meaning, the facts would not have taken the place in history which they actually occupy. For it is only the apprehension of the facts in this particular light that could account for the emergence of the Church as an historical phenomenon. Attempts to account for it on other grounds lead to a fundamental historical scepticism such as is reflected in M. Guignebert's recent judgment: "The rise of the Galilaean prophet marks the beginning, however accidental, of the religious movement from which Christianity sprang."¹ The connection of events ceases to be "accidental" if the tradition as we can recover it from the New Testament represents in substance a true memory of the facts, with the meaning which they really bore as an episode in history. We cannot, however, prove that this is so. What we can hope to prove is

¹ Ch. Guignebert, *Jesus* (Eng. trans.), p. 538.

that in the fourth decade of the first century the Christian Church grew up around a central tradition which, however it is expressed—in preaching, in story, in teaching and in liturgical practice—yields a constant picture of Jesus Christ, what He was, what He stood for, what He said, did and suffered. The step beyond that will probably be taken by something more akin to faith than to objective historical judgment. Either the interpretation through which the facts are presented was imposed upon them mistakenly—and in that case few facts remain which we can regard as strictly ascertained—or the interpretation was imposed by the facts themselves, as they were experienced in an historical situation, and gave rise to historical consequences—and in that case we do know, in the main, what the facts were. The latter conclusion may not be demonstrable, but it is not unreasonable.

SADDUCEE AND PHARISEE—THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAMES.^{1, 2}

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IT will be convenient to begin with the name Sadducee and with the only explanation of it which seems to command any degree of confidence at the present time. The commonly accepted view is that *Σαδδουκαῖος* (Rabb. צִדְקִי) is derived from the proper name צִדְקָה, *Ṣadoḳ* being the real or supposed founder of the party. There are two theories concerning the identity of this *Ṣadoḳ*. On the one he is the *Ṣadoḳ* who was high-priest in the reign of Solomon; on the other he is the person who actually founded the party or was an outstanding member of it at some time in the Greek period. Unfortunately, unlike the high-priest of Solomon's day, nothing is known about this second *Ṣadoḳ* except that his name has been preserved in the party name, for the Rabbinic account of the origins of the Sadducees and Boethosians may safely be dismissed as legendary. This latter explanation certainly avoids one of the difficulties attaching to the derivation from *Ṣadoḳ*, the high-priest of Solomon's time; but apart from this negative virtue it must, even though it is backed by the great authority of Ed. Meyer,³ be deemed to explain *ignotum per ignotius*.

The difficulties in the way of the current theory are serious.

(i) There is the fact that the reigning high-priestly family in the period with which we are concerned were not descended

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of November, 1937.

² In collecting the materials for this paper I have had most generous help from Mr. M. N. Tod. He is, of course, not responsible for my conclusions.

³ *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. 291.

from Šadok. The Hasmoneans belonged to the priestly course of Jojarib, and traced their descent to Aaron through a different line from the descendants of Šadok.¹

(ii) The natural way to describe the descendants of Šadok is not צדוקים but בְּנֵי צָדֵק; and this is the form which is in fact used in Ecclesiasticus (li, 12, Heb.) and the Damascus document (f. 2a, l. 21; f. 2b, l. 3).²

(iii) The form Σαδδουκαῖος presupposes a doubled ט in the Hebrew or Aramaic original, and this is confirmed by the Rabbinic צדוקי, whereas in צדק the ט is undoubled. Schürer (G.J.V.³ ii, 477 ff.) made a strong attempt to overcome this objection by showing that in MSS. of the Septuagint the name צדק is frequently rendered by Σαδδουκ and the like. Against this it must be pointed out that we are concerned with the pronunciation of the names among Jews, and that here the variant readings of Christian copies of the Greek Bible do not really help us.³ The Rabbis knew that Sadducee was pronounced with a double ט and that צדק was not.⁴ That is the vital fact.

Before going on to offer an explanation of the name Sadducee, which seems to avoid these difficulties, it may be well to reiterate one or two points which are well enough known but not always well enough remembered in discussing the Sadducees.

(i) The Sadducees are not to be identified simply with the whole body of the priesthood. Probably most, if not all, Sadducees were priests; but certainly not all, or even most, of the priests were Sadducees. On the contrary many priests, we know for certain, were Pharisees.⁵

(ii) In matters of religion the leading characteristic of the Sadducees is a determined resistance to all innovations; and,

¹ 1 Macc. ii, 1; xiv, 29.

² In Charles's division of the text: v, 7; vi, 2.

³ It is, for example, possible that the spelling Σαδδουκ is influenced by reminiscences of Σαδδουκαῖος.

⁴ So did Josephus. With him Sadducee is Σαδδουκαῖος; but the high-priest, Šadok, is not Σάδδουκος but Σάδωκος (*Ant.*, viii, 11).

⁵ Josephus himself (*Vita*, l f., 12); Hananiah סנן הכהנים; R. Jose, the priest, a disciple of Joħanan b. Zakkai. We may also note the presence of Synagogue ritual in the Temple (*Tamid*, iv, 3; v, 1).

while stubborn conservatism is a common enough ecclesiastical phenomenon, it is not the stuff of which new sects are made. The matter has been well put by Meyer: 'So halten auch bei den Juden die besitzenden Klassen in Staat und Kirche an den alten Anschauungen fest und wollen von den Neuerungen nichts wissen. Aber eben dadurch sind sie zur Stagnation und schliesslich zum Absterben verurteilt; es fehlt ihnen ein lebendiges, schöpferisches Prinzip, sie können lediglich negieren.'¹

(iii) While the religious position of the Sadducees has to be defined in terms of the doctrines which they rejected, the positive characteristics of the party belong to another sphere. They are the wealthy (εὐποροί)² and the people of high social standing (πρῶτοι τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν).³ Their manners are stiff to the point of rudeness, and that even among themselves.⁴ In the administration of justice they are harsh and severe.⁵ These traits are all well known, and it is important to keep them in mind. The positive qualities of the Sadducees are just those most likely to be developed in a class that has had the responsibilities and the opportunities of political leadership in a period of almost continuous political crisis.

These considerations suggest that it is probably a mistake to look about for some historical person who may have laid down the Sadducean programme or embodied the Sadducean ideal; for there is no such ideal or programme. The Sadducees of history are a body of practical men running the affairs of their nation on what would nowadays be called common-sense lines, making the best bargain they can for their people—and incidentally for themselves—in the existing circumstances. For ideals and programmes we must look elsewhere, to the men who wrote the Apocalypses, codified the Law and the Tradition, or founded the community of the Essenes.

That being so we ought to look for the origin of the party name in the sphere in which the Sadducees lived and worked

¹ *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 293 f.

² Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii, 298.

³ *Ibid.*, xviii, 17. For the force of ἀξίωμα here, we may compare *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 34, 3: ἀξιωματι πάντων διήνεγκα where ἀξιωματι renders the Latin *auctoritate*.

⁴ Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Ant.*, xx, 199.

—international politics. And in this sphere we come upon what is at least a possible explanation.

In the bilingual tariff inscription of Palmyra¹ (A.D. 137), line 11, we have mention of a body of officials who bear the name סדקא. The corresponding line (12) of the Greek version gives as the equivalent ΣΥΝΔΙΚΟΥΣ. These Syndics appear along with the Archons for the time being and the Ten; and, along with these persons, they are made responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of the fiscal decree. The possibility that the Σαδδουκαῖοι derive through סדקא from an original σύνδικοι seems worth investigation. There are several considerations which favour the hypothesis.

(i) It accounts satisfactorily for the doubled D, by assimilation of the N. Parallels can be found in Aramaic for Greek loan-words ending in -ος, being provided with an Aramaic termination ai (Heb. ī).² An obvious difficulty is that the Palmyrene inscription spells the word with a Ɔ, while the Rabbinical literature uses a Ʒ. But this difficulty is not insuperable. For (a) there is evidence of the use of Ʒ rather than Ɔ for σ in the transliteration of Greek words;³ and (b) Ʒ and Ɔ appear as interchangeable equivalents of σ in transliteration of the same word in the same Aramaic dialect.⁴ Further, even if our supposed Aramaic transliteration of σύνδικος had been originally spelt with a Ɔ, it is quite possible that popular etymology would substitute the Ʒ, once the derivation of the word was forgotten.⁵ Indeed it would not be incredible that the

¹ C.I.S. Aram. 3913 (Pt. II, vol. iii, fasc. I (1926), pp. 33-73). The inscription is given also in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch*, pp. 463 ff. and (with commentary) in G. A. Cooke, *N.S.I.*, No. 147. The relevant part is given in the Appendix to Bevan's Commentary on Daniel.

² Dalman, *Gram.*,² p. 185.

³ E.g. στόμαμα, Aram. סאמא, סάπων, Aram. ספא, Syr. ܣܦܫܐ; προσωπον, Aram. פרוצפון, Syr. ܦܪܫܐܢܐ.

⁴ συμφωνία. Bibl. Aram. סומפניה, Syr. ܣܦܫܐ; λησταί, Chr. Pal. Aram. ܠܫܬܐܝܝܬܐ and ܠܫܬܐܝܝܬܐ; στολή, Aram. סאמל, סאמל, and סאמל, examples in Mandaic, Nöldeke, *Gram.*, p. 45.

⁵ An instructive display of the workings of popular etymology is given in *The Folk and their Word-lore*, by A. Smythe Palmer. We all know that Jerusalem artichokes do not derive, in any sense, from Jerusalem; but it may be a surprise to learn that the word 'belfry' has nothing to do with bells, and that 'arbours' did not originate from trees.

Sadducees themselves should have made the connection between their name and the root צדק.¹

(ii) The hypothesis of a Greek origin of the name fits in with the fact that in the sphere of political administration, both military and civil, the infiltration of Greek terms is most marked.²

(iii) What we otherwise know about the functions of the *σύνδικοι* agrees very well with what we know or may reasonably conjecture about the activities of the Sadducees.

The *σύνδικοι*³ appear in Athenian history in the fourth century B.C. in connection with the annual *ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων*. They are five in number, and their business is to defend the existing laws against innovation or amendment. In the speeches of Lysias they seem to be the persons appointed to look after the interests of the State in judicial cases. Again the *σύνδικοι* are the representatives of the community in international disputes of a legal character. In the Imperial period there are numerous references to *σύνδικοι*, both of cities and of corporate bodies. In the case of these latter the syndics are generally permanent officials. In the case of cities they are usually appointed *ad hoc* to represent their city in a case before the Emperor or his deputy.

Further light is thrown on the office of the *σύνδικος* by the Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. According to Seidl he has three main duties: (a) to give legal advice to the *βουλή* and the assembly of his community; (b) to represent them in dealings with the Roman authorities; and (c) to look after the fiscal interests of the community as against private

¹ Later in this paper it will be argued that the Pharisaic explanation of the name Pharisee by means of the root פרוש is a piece of false etymology. Another example of the same kind of thing is the word אפיקורא, אפיקורוס, Greek Ἐπικούρειος, or (as I prefer to think) ἐπικουρος. This word is later connected with the root פקר, 'to be uncontrolled' or 'licentious' (Levy, *N.H.W.B.*, i, 143a).

² See the collection in Schürer, *G.J.V.*⁴, ii, 59 f.

³ The information here summarised is drawn mainly from the articles on *σύνδικος*, by Kahrstedt and Seidl, in Pauly-Wissowa (II, R., IV, 2 cols. 1331-3), and by Chapot in Daremberg and Saglio. Cf. also Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im Römischen Kaiserreiche*, pp. 303 f.; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, iii, 2, pp. 286 f.; J. G. Février, *Essai sur l'Histoire Politique et Économique de Palmyre*, p. 44.

individuals. Often, perhaps usually, the *σύνδικος* is also a *βουλευτής*.

It is worth noting that the *סִנְדִּיקָא* of the Palmyrene inscription appear as exercising the third of these functions; and Février conjectures that they may also have had the task of obtaining Roman approval for the fiscal changes before they were put into force, i.e. they may also have exercised the second function of representing the Palmyrene community in its relations with the Roman authorities.¹ How far does this description tally with the history of the ruling class in Judaea?

We are accustomed to think of the rise to power of the Hasmonaeans in terms of armed rebellion against the Seleucid empire; and this is a true view—up to the death of Judas Maccabaeus. After that the story is a different one. 'When Judas led them, they confronted a single central government, and won what they won by the sword from the royal forces. But from now the Seleucid house was with rare intervals represented by rival claimants, and the gains of the Jews were concessions from one or other of the kings, whose quarrels the astute Hasmonaean politicians knew how to turn to their own advantage.'² It is they who treat with successive overlords as the representatives of the Jewish community.

Further, for the greater part of this period they are the official interpreters of the law. It is true that later the Pharisees obtained a voice in the Jewish courts; but that was a concession only grudgingly granted when the Pharisees had got the support of a large body of public opinion behind them.

Again the system of direct taxation in the Jewish community

¹ One other example of the word *σύνδικος* is perhaps worth mentioning, though the interpretation of the evidence is matter of dispute. In the *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, Pt. III, p. 303, W. K. Prentice publishes an inscription (No. 383) found at Mushennef:

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΔΙΚΟΥ ΝΟΜΑ
ΔΩΝ

and suggests that *σύνδικος* is the title of an Arab sheikh recognised in some degree as vassal of the Roman Empire. This suggestion is rejected by Chapot; and I am content merely to note the existence of the inscription.

² E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, p. 100.

was intimately bound up with the Temple and the priesthood. It was therefore inevitable that the Sadducees, established in the upper ranks of the priesthood, should exercise control of the fiscal system.

In the three essential points the activities of the Sadducees agree with the description of the *σύνδικοι*. It is perhaps worth adding that their character as stubborn opponents of any innovation reminds one of the function of the original Athenian *σύνδικοι*.

There are a few other matters which must be at least touched upon before we leave the Syndics of the Jews.

First, and perhaps most important, are the Boethosians. Like the Sadducees they are commonly thought to derive their name from a person, that *Βοηθός*, who is said by Josephus to have been the father of Simon the high-priest. Simon was appointed to that office by Herod the Great in order that he might be of sufficient standing to be a suitable father-in-law for the king.¹ The family of Boethus produced a number of subsequent high-priests; and it is natural to suppose that this dynasty with their associates are referred to under the name of Boethosians. There are, however, some considerations that make one doubtful.

(i) In one early and clear reference to the dynasty of Boethus (b. Pes. 57a Abba Saul b. Batnith in the name of Abba Jose b. Hanin) the name given is not *ביתוסין* but, as we should expect, *בית בייתוס*.

(ii) If the Boethosians got their name from the Boethus who was the ancestor of the high-priestly dynasty, it is curious that Jewish legend should pass over the obvious and trace the Boethosians back to a mythical disciple of Antigonus of Sokho.

(iii) *Βοηθός* is not only a proper name: it is also an official term corresponding to the Latin *adiutor*.² As a technical term it appears in the Syriac *ܠܗܝܬܐ* where it is the equivalent of our word adjutant.³ *Βοηθός* is frequent in the ostraca for

¹ Jos., *Ant.*, xv, 320; cf. xvii, 78, 339; xviii, 3.

² Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.*, 526¹; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, II, p. 215, n. 1.

³ *Sev. Ant. Vit.*, 43, 8, cited in Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, Suppl. 44b.

the 'assistants' of the *πράκτορες* or tax-collectors, and less frequently for other assistant officers.¹ In a papyrus of the time of Hadrian the Praefect is described as *ὁ τοῦ νομοῦ βοηθός*—the helper of the district.²

In the light of this we may at least entertain the possibility that the Boethosians were originally the *βοηθοὶ τῶν συνδίκων*, the assistants of the men who administered the affairs of Judaea in the last two centuries B.C. It is noteworthy that all that is recorded of them in Rabbinical literature suggests that they are just a group within the Sadducean party.³ Indeed in the passages cited by Billerbeck⁴ the names Sadducee and Boethosian could be freely interchanged without creating any confusion.⁵ Further, it may be added that if this view of the origin of the Boethosians is correct, it will at least explain why the account in *Aboth de R. Nathan* (5) makes the rise of both Sadducees and Boethosians take place at the same time, and that a time in the second century B.C.⁶

It may also be permissible to cast a passing glance at another party mentioned in our Jewish sources the *אפיקורוסין*, usually translated 'the Epicureans.' The impression left by the accounts of them is not that of a body of philosophers, but rather that they were 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' who made rude remarks about the Law and shouted insults at passing Rabbis.⁷ I do not wish to indulge in too many rash hypotheses, and merely note the fact that *ἐπίκουροι* is a technical term for mercenary troops, and that foreign mercenaries were employed by the Hasmonaeans from John Hyrcanus onwards.⁸

Lastly, it may be suggested that the interpretation of the name Sadducee here proposed gains some support from the coins

¹ Cf. Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i, 171, 558, 618; *P. Fay*, 34³ (A.D. 161) and the Editors' note; Mitteis-Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, i, 84; *P. Oxy*, 1469¹⁰ (A.D. 298), *β. τοῦ στρατηγού*, the 'assistant of the strategus.'

² *P. Giss.*, i, 46.¹¹

³ Cf. Billerbeck, *Komm.*, iv, 341.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, iv, 345 ff.

⁵ Cf. Suidas (ed. Bernhardt), ii, col. 961. *ὅταν πλείονες βοηθοὶ καὶ συνήγοροι τῷ πράγματι παρῶσι, σύνδικοι καλοῦνται.*

⁶ For the passage from *Aboth de R. Nathan* see Billerbeck, iv, 343.

⁷ Cf., for example, p. *Sanh.*, x, 27d.

⁸ *Jos.*, *Ant.*, xiii, 249, 374; *B.J.*, i, 88.

of the Hasmonaeans, on what seems to be the most probable interpretation of the superscriptions. On coins of John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I, Alexander Jannaeus, and Antigonos we get the phrases **חבר היהודים** or **ראש חבר היהודים**.¹ The second phrase makes it fairly clear that **חבר** is a collective noun; and two interpretations of the word seem possible: either it means the whole community of the Jews, or it means a smaller group within the community, the ruling body or executive of the people. The former view appears to be most in favour with scholars; but there are two considerations which incline one to prefer the latter.

(i) In the tariff inscription of Marseilles² we find that the regulations there made are made by the authority of the two **שפטם** and certain other persons described as **חברנם** 'their colleagues.'³ These colleagues must be councillors or senators of some kind.

(ii) Professor A. R. S. Kennedy⁴ suggests that **חבר** on the Jewish coins = **τὸ κοινόν**. He goes on to show that in Josephus' *Vita* 'the **κοινόν** must have been a body with functions resembling those of an executive of the **δῆμος**, and that the former is to be taken as synonymous with **οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι**, by which expression, at the first mention of his appointment as governor-general of Galilee (§ 9), Josephus designates the nominating body, which in all succeeding references he names **τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν**.'

One is accordingly inclined to see in the **חבר** of the Jewish coins the collective term for all those men who managed the affairs of the Jewish people in those troublesome times, and to regard **חבר היהודים** as the Hebrew equivalent of **οἱ σύνδικοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων**, just as later in Josephus the **κοινόν** is the equivalent of **οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι**.

¹ The essential facts are in Schürer, *G.J.V.*⁴, I, 268 ff., 275, 284 f., 355; more fully in G. F. Hill's *Catalogue of the British Museum Collection, Palestine volume* (1914).

² *C.I.S.*, I, 165; Cooke, *N.S.I.*, No. 42; Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques*, Appendix.

³ The phrasing of the Marseilles inscription reminds one of the official titles in the Aramaic letters in Ezra iv, 9, 17, 23; v, 3, 6; vi, 6, 13.

⁴ *H.D.B.*, iii, 425.

The conclusion which I should draw from this discussion is this: the Sadducees were originally the body of leading men in the Jewish nation, who under the leadership of the Hasmonaeans formed an executive and administrative council. This council appears in *Judith* and *Macc.* I, II, III as the *γερουσία*, on Jewish coins as *חבר היהודים*, and at a later date as the *סנהדרין*. One name for its members was *σύνδικος*, and from this Greek word came an Aramaic form *סדקא*. When the origin of the name had been forgotten, it was explained by false etymology as derived from the root *צדק*, just as 'Epicurean' was connected with the root *פקר* and 'Pharisee' with the root *פרש*. The Aramaic form explains the new Greek *Σαδδουκαῖος*, and the popular etymology the Rabbinic Hebrew *צדוקי*. It is, I think, likely that the connection with the root *צדק* was made by the Sadducees themselves.¹

We turn now to the name Pharisee, and begin with the opposition between the Pharisees and Sadducees. The differences between the two parties are recorded in Josephus and in the Rabbinical literature: there is also information on some points of difference given in the New Testament. The material is collected by Schürer² and Billerbeck,³ and it has recently been carefully discussed by Finkelstein⁴ and Lauterbach.⁵ In the light of their treatment it is probably a mistake to describe any of the matters in dispute between Pharisees and Sadducees as unimportant. But there are issues that emerge as having

¹ In this connection I should draw attention to Lk. xvi, 14 f. I cannot help thinking that *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι* in v. 14 is a mistake. It is the Sadducees who are *φιλάργυροι*, who are proud (*τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλόν*) and scornful (*ἐξέμυκτηρίζον αὐτόν*). And if the saying was originally addressed to the Sadducees, the phrase *ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς* becomes highly significant: 'you are the people who call themselves *צדיקא*.' This conjecture, which I worked out in some detail in *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, pp. 587 f., gains some support from the recently published Greek text of the last chapters of Enoch (*Studies and Documents*, VIII). There, in Enoch, cii, 10, we read: *ἴδετε οὖν, οἱ δικαιοῦντες [ἑαυτ]οὺς, ὅποια ἐγένετο αὐτῶν ἢ κατασ[τρο]φή κτλ.* This passage is held by Charles to be addressed by the author of the book to the Sadducees.

² *G.J.V.*,⁴ ii, 449 ff.

³ *Kommentar*, iv, 344 ff.

⁴ *Harvard Theological Review*, xxii (1929), 185-261.

⁵ *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI (1929), 69-139.

been generally felt to be of critical importance. They are marked by the fact that in each case the Pharisees put forward a positive doctrine which the Sadducees simply reject.

(i) The Pharisees believe in a divine purpose in history. The course of events is overruled by divine providence in accordance with God's plan. Josephus¹ translates this doctrine for his Gentile readers into : *εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ θεῶ προσάπτουσι πάντα*. The Sadducees deny this.

(ii) The Pharisees believe in a future life where men are rewarded or punished according to their behaviour in this.² The Sadducees hold fast to the old doctrine of Sheol and reject this innovation.³

(iii) The Pharisees have a developed angelology and demonology, which the Sadducees reject.⁴

(iv) The Pharisees recognise as the supreme authority in religion the Scripture plus Tradition. The Sadducees recognise Scripture only.

The last of the four points is not directly important for our purpose. It is sufficient to say that it gives the fundamental position taken by the Sadducees in rejecting the characteristic teaching of the Pharisees : sound Biblical doctrine and no beliefs for which there is not clear warrant in Holy Writ.

With regard to the other three points we must go further.

¹ *B.J.*, ii, 162.

² In Josephus this doctrine becomes—again for the benefit of Gentile readers—the immortality of the soul and its reincarnation in another body (*Ibid.*, 163). But behind the sophisticated terminology the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection is plain enough.

³ In this the Sadducees hold fast to Scripture and reject tradition. For Sheol is the doctrine of the Old Testament. In holding fast to the 'Biblical' doctrine the Sadducees show themselves true Semites. We may recall the derision with which Mohammed's teaching about resurrection and judgment was received by the Arabs in the early stages of his prophetic career. Cf. Muir, *Life of Mohammad* (1923), pp. 78, 97. The Sadducean belief in Sheol is transformed, and in some measure misrepresented by Josephus (*B.J.*, ii, 165 ; *Ant.*, xviii, 16).

⁴ Acts xxiii, 8. This is the only *testimonium* for this article of Sadducean disbelief. Cf. Moore, *Judaism*, i, 68 ; Meyer, *op. cit.*, ii, 297. It is unlikely that the Sadducees denied outright the existence of angels and demons ; for such beings are mentioned in Scripture. What they rejected was the developed doctrine of the two kingdoms with their hierarchies of good and evil spirits.

The second and third are best disposed of in the careful words of G. F. Moore.¹

'The eschatology of Judaism has an unmistakable affinity to that of the Zoroastrian religion in the separation of the souls of righteous and wicked at death, and their happy or miserable lot between death and the resurrection, and in the doctrine of a general resurrection and the last judgment with its issues. The resemblances are so striking that many scholars are convinced that this whole system of ideas was appropriated by the Jews from the Zoroastrians, as well as that Jewish angelology and demonology were developed under Babylonian and Persian influence.'

The first point, providence and free-will, demands a closer examination. And it is important to see clearly what it is that the Sadducees are concerned to deny. Josephus says : ²

'The Sadducees, the second of the orders, do away with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight (*ἐφορᾶν*), of evil. They maintain that man has the free choice of good or evil, and that it rests with each man's will whether he follows the one or the other.'

It does not seem to me that the Sadducees are here attempting to deny Providence altogether and to remove God from all contact with the world after the manner of Epicureanism. It is the problem of evil with which they are concerned. They would allow that God is the cause of the good things that happen in the world. They could do no other, for Scripture asserted it plainly enough. What they would not allow was that God was in any sense the cause of evil, either by direct action or by toleration.³ They maintained that good and evil are matters of free human choice and, we may suppose, that man in choosing chooses the consequences that will follow from his decision. In other words the Sadducees, in dealing with the problem of evil, are still maintaining the positions adopted

¹ *Judaism*, ii. 394.

² *B.J.*, ii, 164 f. (Thackeray's translation).

³ This I take to be the meaning of *ἐφορᾶν*. It is not mere 'seeing,' but 'looking upon' in the pregnant sense in which the word is used of God in the LXX—looking upon with approval or toleration, seeing things as included in his own purpose.

by Job's comforters. At the same time they are rejecting another solution of the problem which explained evil by means of the demons and their prince. It was involved in this explanation that God had either created these evil forces or, at least, tolerated their existence; and this meant that the theology based on the explanation was dualistic, even if the dualism was qualified by the fact that the toleration of evil was only for the time being.

But here again we cannot but notice the resemblances between the doctrine rejected by the Sadducees and the doctrines of Zoroastrianism.

The result is that with regard to the most characteristic doctrines of the Pharisees the captious Sadducean critic could say with no little plausibility: 'This is not the religion of Israel as set forth in our Scriptures; it is the religion of Persia.' And that, I suggest, is what they did say. The word *Φαρισαῖος* is the Graecised form of the Aramaic פִּרְסָאָה Persian; and it was applied to the innovators in theology in much the same way that the term 'Romaniser' is used in theological controversy in our own day. The name stuck,¹ and at a later date was furnished with an edifying etymology. It was explained that it was really connected with the root פָּרַשׁ, and meant that those who bore it were separated from all that is abominable in God's sight. So we get the final form of the name in Rabbinic Hebrew—פְּרוּשִׁי with its clear indication of the *Hebrew* passive participle.

Philologically the equation *Φαρισαῖος* = פִּרְסָאָה does not seem to present any difficulties. Hebrew or Aramaic פ may be transliterated by π or φ: and φ is rather the more frequent of the two. Quite often π and φ occur as alternative renderings in the same word. For example Hebrew פֶּסַח appears in Greek dress as πάσχα, φάσεκ, or φάσεχ,² and the proper name פתחיה is rendered by Παθαῖος and Φαθαῖος.

Further, the termination -αῖος is perfectly normal. The

¹ It is to be noted that the Pharisees in the early period do not use the name of themselves. It does not appear, for example, in *Ps. Sol.*, *Test. XII Patr.*, or the Greek portion of *Enoch*.

² Thackeray, *Grammar*, i, 32.

vast majority of words in *-aios* listed in Hatch and Redpath, vol. iii. are gentile names corresponding to Hebrew words with the ending יָ (= Aram. אָאֵ). The real difficulty is to account for the ending *-aios* on the common explanation of *Φαρισαίος* as derived from an Aramaic Passive Participle פִּרְשָׁא . I cannot find any word ending in *-aios* in Hatch and Redpath derived from an Aramaic Passive Participle. The nearest analogy would be *Ἀσιδαίος* (= Heb. חֲסִיד), *Ναζευαίος* (= Heb. נָזִיר), and *Ναθυναίου* (= Heb. נֹתְנִים). In that case *Φαρισαίος* would presuppose a Hebrew word פָּרִישׁ ; but the extant Hebrew equivalent of *Φαρισαίος* is פְּרוּשִׁי , and there would have been no need to produce this word if there had been a word פִּרְשִׁי already in existence.

It may be objected to our explanation of the term Pharisee that, if it were correct, one would have expected that פִּרְסָאָה would have been translated by *Πέρσης* or *Περσικός* instead of being transliterated by *Φαρισαίος*. The answer to that is that, by the time that a Greek equivalent of פִּרְסָאָה came to be required, the origin of the name was already forgotten. (How many Englishmen, who use the word 'Tory' in ordinary conversation, know its original meaning and derivation?) The word had become a label, and the only thing to be done with it was to transliterate it.

And it may be added that the transliteration tends to confirm our hypothesis. Why is *φ* used in preference to *π*? I think the answer is to be found in the Greek versions of Daniel.¹

In the story of Belshazzar's feast the writing on the wall is given in Aramaic (v. 25) :

מְנָא מְנָא תִּקֵּל וּפְרָסִין

In the version of Theodotion (v. 25) the inscription is transliterated

Μανη θεκελ φαρης

In v. 28 of the Aramaic the inscription is thus explained :

פִּרְסָא פִּרְסִית מְלְכוּתָךְ וַיְהִיבָת לְמַדֵּי וּפְרָס :

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Tod for the reminder that this point was worth investigation.

This is rendered by Theodotion :

φαρες, διήρηται ἡ βασιλεία σου καὶ ἐδόθη Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις.

With this we may compare the passage which appears at the beginning of ch. v in the LXX :

ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξῆλθον δάκτυλοι ὥσεὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου οἰκοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κονιάματος κατέναντι τοῦ λύχνου Μανη φαρес θεκελ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐρμηνεῖα αὐτῶν · μανη ἡρίθμηται, φαρес ἐξήρηται, θεκελ ἔσταιται.

The fact that the Aramaic gives the two forms פֶּרְסִין and פֶּרַס is a clear indication that in the mind of the writer (or, more probably, of a subsequent editor or glossator) there was a double word-play involving both the verb פָּרַס 'to divide' and the noun פֶּרַס 'the Persian land or nation.' Now the pronunciation of the word written on the wall is given in both Greek versions as φαρес. If, then, there was to be a play on the word פֶּרַס (or פֶּרְסִי), 'Persia' (or 'Persian'), it seems likely that פֶּרַס and פֶּרְסִי will have been pronounced in such a way that φ would be the most natural transliteration for the initial פ. In that case Φαρισαῖος preserves the Palestinian pronunciation of פֶּרְסָאָה, and the φ is satisfactorily accounted for.

If the theories put forward in this paper are sound, they bring into prominence certain points which are highly significant.

The Sadducees appear more definitely than ever as a political order. Their influence on the development of the Jewish faith is seen to be negligible. In theology they are the representatives of an ossified orthodoxy with no guiding principle *except quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Consequently when the Jewish state ceased to exist as a political entity and the Temple, the centre of the traditional ritual, was destroyed, the Sadducees simply faded out of the picture.

The living branch of Judaism was the Pharisaic. The Pharisees were doubtless orthodox in the sense of holding to the old ways and the central doctrines of the religion of Israel ; but they were also receptive to new ideas. I am not concerned to decide the question whether their characteristic doctrines

were derived from Persia or were the development—under Persian influence—of ideas already implicit in Hebrew religion. The point is that the new ideas were developed, and developed by the Pharisees. They were the upholders of 'tradition'; but the *παράδοσις* of the Pharisees was a living growing thing, and the future of Judaism as a religion lay with them. And finally their characteristic doctrines—the doctrines which, on my view, earned them their nick-name—became the background for the earliest Christian theology.

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILISATION IN THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

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VII. THE *DAM-QAR* (TRADER?) IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA.

READERS of the Bible will not hear for the first time now that the land of ancient Mesopotamia was famous for its merchants. Isaiah,¹ if the text be correct, declares that Babylon's merchants will be no security in the day of her doom. And Nahum² says of Nineveh that she has multiplied her merchants above the stars of heaven. Both these references are of a date much later than the period with which we are concerned in this study. Behind them were more than two thousand years of history of well organised and highly civilised communities with a splendid tradition in the arts and the crafts and the industries of that world. And concurrently there had been contact both peaceful and violent with neighbours near and far. We shall confine our study to the avocation described in Sumerian as "*dam-qar*". This word was taken over by the Semites to make the Semitic word *tamqārum*. The meaning of it is expressed variously by various translators: the French "marchand";³ "agent, homme d'affaires";⁴ the German "Kaufmann";⁵ "Kaufherr";⁶ the Latin "mercator" "creditor".⁷ In this article no attempt will be made to give an exact English rendering of the Sumerian *dam-qar*. It will be attempted only to discover from the evidence of Ur III (i.e.

¹ Isaiah 47 : 15.

³ Legrain *T.R.U.*

⁵ Pohl *R.V.U.*

⁷ Deimel *Vocab. to Codex Hammurabi.*

² Nahum 3 : 16.

⁴ *I.T.T.* II, 832 ; IV, 7735.

⁶ Bezold.

c. 2300 B.C.) what was his field of operation in the various towns from which the mass of Ur III tablets have come.

By the time of Ur III the word had already been long in use. Fairly large quantities of tablets in the earliest pictographical script have been published. On those of Ur,¹ found during the post-war excavations on that Sumerian site, the title *dam-qar* does not occur. On those of Fara,² i.e. Šuruppak, it does occur though the form of the signs suggests that the tablets on which the title occurs are later than the earliest tablets found at Ur. The Šuruppak tablets are dated by some³ as early as 3300 B.C. Whatever the exact date of these records, it is clear that there were professional *dam-qar* in south Mesopotamia at a very early date, say about three thousand years before Christ. After this date the *dam-qar* appears frequently. With the growth and productivity of the city states and with the ever-increasing needs of the communities and the growth of inter-communications of state with state and land with land, the scope for trading within and without the cities and towns would be enlarged. There would be trade in the products of the community, and there would be journeyings outwards towards communities enjoying a local monopoly of some special product.

The economics of an old Sumerian city state, or temple state, were not unlike those of the city states which Aristotle knew in Greece and which Aquinas knew in mediæval Europe. There would seem therefore to be place here for a quotation from Aquinas⁴ concerning the trader. So much the *dam-qar* certainly was.

“A tradesman is one whose business consists in the exchange of things. According to the Philosopher (Polit. i), exchange of things is twofold; one, natural as it were, and necessary, whereby one commodity is exchanged for another, or money taken in exchange for a commodity, in order to satisfy the needs of life. Suchlike trading, properly speaking, does not belong to tradesmen, but rather to

¹ Burrows *Ur Excavations* II.

² Jestin *Tablettes Sumériennes de Šuruppak*; Deimel *Fara Texte*.

³ Jestin *l.c.* p. 5 note 3.

⁴ *Summa Theologica*, II. II. Q. 77, Art. IV.

housekeepers or civil servants who have to provide the household or the state with the necessities of life. The other kind of exchange is either that of money for money, or of any commodity for money, not on account of the necessities of life, but for profit, and this kind of exchange, properly speaking, regards tradesmen, according to the Philosopher (Polit. i)."

I think it will appear from this study that there is much in this concise description of the trader and his occupation which applies to the *dam-qar* of ancient Sumer.

We may begin by asking whether the *dam-qar* was a member of a special class or whether he was merely a casual. It would seem that he was a member of a special class. There are few persons who are styled *dam-qar*. But occasionally there are references to "*dam-qar*" in general. Thus "130 talents 7 mina of wool from Lú-^dNingirsu, *dam-qar* (plural) received";¹ asses from *dam-qar* (plural);² credit of *dam-qar* (plural);³ various goods in quantities received by and from *dam-qar* (plural);⁴ the "things" (i.e. the property) of *dam-qar* (plural);⁵ the balanced accounts of *dam-qar* (plural);⁶ and of boats of *dam-qar* (plural).⁷ Finally, an archive label of the inspection of accounts relating to various classes: priestly class, *dam-qar*, etc.;⁸ and of couriers and *dam-qar*.⁹

It is not suggested that the *dam-qar* were a commercial caste enjoying a monopoly as in India. They were apparently ordinary members of the community in which division of labour was an outstanding feature of industrial organisation.

Was the number of *dam-qar* in any city large? A search through the vast collection of Ur III tablets already published, and of many unpublished, reveals that rarely, that is in contrast with many other professions of the time, is a person styled *dam-qar*. Here is a list which is at least approximately complete, of such persons arranged under headings of the towns to which

¹ Hussey *S.T.H.* 11, 158.

² Chiera *S.T.A.* 12:7.

³ Hussey *l.c.* I R I:7; Jean *Š.A.* 134:111.

⁴ *I.T.T.* IV, 7458; Hussey *S.T.H.* 158; Schneider *G.D.D.* 253.

⁵ *Ibid.* 108.

⁶ Contenau *T.E.O.* 6037:X; 6046:IV.

⁷ Jean *Š.A.* 134:IV.

⁸ Hussey *l.c.* 125.

⁹ *I.T.T.* V, 6984.

belong the tablets on which their names occur. The dates of the tablets on which the names occur are given after the reference to text.

- Lagash* : Da-da *I.T.T.* IV, 7735 (no date).
 Ur-Šul-pa-è *Reisner*, *T.U.* 62 : R, 3 (G.S. 6) ; *J. Rylands* 686.
 Ur-^dGāl-alim *Hussey* II, 14 R I (B.S. 9).
 Ur-^dKal *T.U.* 154 II 22 (B.S. 2).
 Hu-pi-pi *Chiera S.T.A.* 10 V : 3 (no date).
 Ilu-ma *Pinches Amherst* 38 IV 12 (Š. 41).
 Lú-^dUtu *Hussey* II, I R I 6 ; III 5 (Š. 31—Š. 43).
 Lú-^dNin-gir-su *Chiera S.T.A.* 10 xii 24 (no date).
 Šeš-šeš *I.T.T.* IV, 7651 (no date).
- Drehem* : A-a-ni, *Langdon T.A.D.* 40 (B.S. 3).
 Ām-zi-a *B.M.* 103416 (unpublished) (G.S. 2).
 A-ḫu-wa-qar *C.T.* 32, 25 R 3.
 Ā-da-a *B.M.* 103413
 En-ú-a *C.T.* 32, 25 12, R 5 (G.S. 6).
 Ġir-ni *B.M.* 103416 (G.S. 2).
 Ka-kù *C.T.* 32, 25, 9 (G.S. 6).
 Ġù-dé-a *B.M.* 103413 (B.S. 4) ; *T.R.U.* 306, 2 (B.S. 2) ; *S.T.A.* 10 5 20 (no date).
 Lú-^dNannar *Legrain T.R.U.* 23, 7 (B.S. 5).
 Lú-^dNin-šubur, *Wengler* 28 (Š. 37).
 Šu-lu-bu-um *B.M.* 103416 (G.S. 2).
 Ur-^dNin-ġiš-zi-da *B.M.* 103416 (G.S. 2).
- Umma* : Ab-ba-mu *Nies U.D.T.* 131 3 (Š. 40 or B.S. 6).
 Ba-zi-zi *Schneider An. Or* 7,374 55 (no date).
^dUtu-sig₅ *Keiser S.T.D.* 246 55 (no date).
 Ur-àm-ma *Schneider G.D.D.* 484 10 (no date).
 Ur-ġiš-ġigir *G.D.D.* 500, 54, 70 (no date).
 Ur-^dA-dug *Füye Co.* xx 30.
 Ur-^dDumu-zi-da *T.E.O.* 6046 IV 11 etc. (B.S. 4) ;
 Keiser C.B. 80, 4 (B.S. 7) ; *Hackman T.D.U.*
 197 (Š. 44).
 Ur-^dKal *T.E.O.* 5666 rev. II (no date).
 Ur-^dNin-zu *G.D.D.* 484, II (no date).

Ur-^dSin Gen. Co. f. 7.

Ur-nigin-gar *S.T.D.* 267 29 (B.S. 7).

Inim-ma-ni-zi *T.E.O.* 6052 (B.S. 5); *J. Rylands*
676 (?) (G.S. 2).

^dKal-la *Hackman T.D.U.* 346 (G.S. 8).

Lú-^dInnina *An. Or.* 7, 374 51 (no date).

Lú-^dŠara *S.T.D.* 48 : 10 (I.S. 3; or Š. 23 or 42).

Lugal-gar-lagar-e *Jean Š.A.* LXXV : R 12 (no date).

Lugal-giš-gigir-ri *G.D.D.* 484 : 2 (no date).

Lugal-ḫé-gál *S.T.D.* 37 : 9 (I.S. 2).

Lugal-sig₅ *B.M.* 105412 (unpublished (I.S. 2).

Lugal-šag₄-ga *S.T.D.* 287 : 6 (Š. 32).

Pad-da *S.T.D.* 295 : 18 (Š. 43); *G.D.D.* 249 : 92
(Š. 43 or B.S. 2). *Chiera S.T.A.* 23 VI 5 (Š. 40
or B.S. 6).

Sag-tar *T.E.O.* 6162, IV : 23.

Šeš-kal-la *T.E.O.* 6056 R 23 (B.S. 5); *B.M.* 106064
(Š. 40 or B.S. 6).

Igi-^dŠU (?) *Harvard* 6346 (unpublished) (no date).

Adab : Šeš-šag₄-ga *Luckenbill I.A.* III (no date).

Ur-^dNina-zu *ib.* 159 (no date).

Ur-meš *ib.* 171 (no date).

Nippur : Arad-tāb, *Pohl R.V.U.* 173 (no date).

Ad-da-kal-la *ib.* 6 : 4 (Š. 40 or B.S. 6).

I-šar-la-e, *ib.* 7 : 12 (Š. 39).

La-la-mu, *ib.* I (seal) (Š. 42 or 43, or I.S. 3).

Lu-lu, *ib.* 173 (no date).

Lugal-kù-zu *Myrhman* 146, 14 (no date).

Ur-Bár-è *Pohl* (seal) 73 (B.S. 9).

Ur-^dDiš-dingir *ib.* 23 (G.S. 8).

Ur-^dEn-lil-lá *ib.* 173 (no date).

Ur-^dNusku *ib.* 173 (no date); *Myrhman* 15 (B.S. 2).

Ur-^dEn-zu *ib.* 7 (Š. 39).

Ur-^dŠu-mah *ib.* 173 (no date).

Ur-^dUtu *ib.* 173 (no date).

Ur-e-pap- *ib.* 173 (no date).

Ur-me-me *ib.* 41 (no date).

It will be seen from the above list that the number of *dam-qar* in any of the towns of which we have evidence is small. But it would be dangerous to conclude that only those persons are *dam-qar* whose names are followed by the title *dam-qar*. On Nippur tablets,¹ for example, the text proper records only the name of the person who receives the money or the barley. It is the inscription on the seal impressed on the tablet that tells us that the receivers were *dam-qar*. Without the seal inscription we should not have known what profession they followed.

Perhaps it is true to say that there is no obvious reason why many persons should have been traders in Ur III. It is true that the land was poor in important commodities such as woods and metals. But it was an age of conquest, as is clear from the date formulæ which so often celebrate Sumerian victories over neighbours. And it is not rash to assume that these earlier conquerors in Mesopotamia looted and taxed their enemies, as did the later lords of Assyria and Babylonia in terms of goods of which they were in need or in want. In a land and in a time when war was almost an annual happening, depleted stocks could be replenished frequently in the event of victory. Thereby would the national stores be supplied. There would therefore be no urgent need of a large army of traders at least in the name of the king or of the State, operating "abroad".

But it was, so far as we can judge, a free country. There was much travelling from place to place, and intercommunication between city and city within the kingdom and outwards beyond it. It would not be surprising, therefore, if here and there citizens left their cities to seek or to dispose of merchandise. I doubt if many would do so. The tablets of this age give us the impression that most citizens would be fully occupied in other tasks. There was war and public enterprise and all the labour of the fields and the herds, to which many hundreds of tablets bear witness. Few, perhaps, would be free for such non-essential or secondary occupations.

We may consider in what relation to society or to any part or person in it did the *dam-qar* stand. Was he merely a trader? Or was he a craftsman who brought something of his own making

¹ Pohl *R.V.U.* 1; 41; 73.

to market? The evidence is that the *dam-qar* was essentially a man of business. The evidence provided in this study suggests very strongly that his "merchandise" was not the stuff of any craft, or at any rate, not the stuff of his own craft.

Further: was the *dam-qar* primarily a retailer of his own property or was he primarily an agent for others? It will be recalled that the two chief "persons" in Sumerian society were the king and the temple, i.e. the god. In Egypt the pharaohs traded by import and export. So did Solomon, e.g. in horses. And by agents. Was the Sumerian *dam-qar* merely or primarily an agent of the king? or of the god, the first "capitalist" in the land?

The evidence of the tablets of Ur III does, I think, give an answer to this question. It would seem that the situation in Ur III was like to that which obtained somewhat earlier and somewhat later in south Mesopotamia. In the days of the early patesis of Lagash we find that the patesi and his lady had their *dam-qar*.¹ Later, in the days of Hammurabi of Babylon, we read of the *dam-qar* of the temple. So far the Ur III tablets of the city of Ur found during the excavations there have not been published. It may be that they will reveal that the local king and his queen had their *dam-qar*. But without that evidence from the capital city Ur, we may safely risk the statement that in other towns the several *dam-qar* mentioned on our tablets were employees. These tablets are in large measure temple records, and usually of "national" or "town" property and affairs. And we have two tablets² which mention the *dam-qar* among the functionaries of the local "mill". At the same time, it remains possible that there were persons who were professional traders on their own account and quite unattached to any master royal or religious, or to any "concern". But those *dam-qar* whose balanced accounts have come down to us (see below) were not, I think, of these.

Where did the *dam-qar* do business? There is only one explicit hint. In the midst of a list of *dam-qar* expenditure there occurs the phrase "in the city", after which the list of expendi-

¹ Genouillac *T.S.A.* xxvi.

² Reisner *T.U.* 154; Hussey *S.T.H.* 11, 14.

ture is resumed.¹ The phrase is surely meant to distinguish one portion of the expenditure from the other by distinguishing the areas of operations. We may infer that the remainder of the tablet refers to expenditure elsewhere. In other connexions a difference is made between supplies to be consumed "within the city" and supplies to be consumed "on the journey".²

Mention has already been made of "balanced accounts". The phrase used by the Sumerian scribe means literally "calculation made". But it will perhaps appear from the sample which is given here, that the calculation includes a comparison between capital and expenditure which suggests something near to what we intend by balancing accounts. The example is an unpublished tablet in the British Museum,³ and is here given in translation as follows :—

Col. 1. 1 mina 1 1/6 shekel, 2 še of silver, remainder from the
5th year of Bur Sin,
5 talents of wool, the 5th year of Bur Sin, its silver,
i.e. money (value) ½ mina 3 1/3 shekels,
7 talents of wool, its money value 2/3 mina 2 shekels
from the Patesi,
x 90 gur of dates, its money value (1/6 (shekel) 10 še,
purchase price of *KU . MUL* (a food ?)

The tablet is here left blank for the space of about five lines.

Total : 3 mina 16 2/3 shekels 12 še of silver.

It is the capital sum.

Out of it

2/30 (*gur*) 5 *qa* of bitumen, money value 1/6 (shekel) 6
še, *níg-ku tur-ru-hu -un* (i.e. ?)

2 talents of gypsum, money value 1/6 (shekel) 6 še,

2/5 (*gur*) of alkali, money value 24 še, *níg-ku uku-lugal*.

Col. 2. Blank for the space of two lines.

1/30 (*gur*) 5 *qa* of pure honey, money value 10 shekels,
signed document of Lukalla,

1/5 (*gur*) bitumen, its money value 1/3 shekel 12 še,
signed document of X,

¹ T.E.O. 5680. ² Cf. Hussey *S.T.H.* 11 ; 56 ; 63 ; 78 ³ B.M. 106064.

3/30 (*gur*) of barley, its money value 20 še, fodder for asses (of) Hulibār, signed document of Lugina,
 13 *níg-ku-mul*, money value 3 . 2/3 shekels 10 še, signed document of Lugal-gar-lagar-e,
 2 *qa* of sesame oil, its money value 1/6 (shekel), signed document of A-du,
 1/30 (*gur*) bitumen, its money value 12 še, signed document of Alul,
 1/5, 4/30 (*gur*) of alkali, its money value 15 še,
 10 mina of gypsum, its money value 1 še, signed document of Lu- Enlilla.

Col. 3. Blank for space of two or three lines.

expenditure *bal-a* (i.e. ?)

3/30 (*gur*) 3 2/3 *qa* of swine fat, its money value 1 2/3 shekels, 3 še signed document of Nikalla,

3 1/5 (*gur*) 2 *qa* of swine fat, its money value 2/3 mina, 5½ shekels, signed document of Ur-^aŠulpae,

1/5 . 2/30 (*gur*) of *giš-ma-ud*, its money value 2/3 shekels 15 še,

3/5 *giš-hashur-ud*, its money value 1/2 shekel 18 še,

1/5 . 1/30 (*gur*) 2 *qa* white wine, money value 2 shekels,

2/5 . 1/30 (*gur*) of honey, money value 1 shekel 1/4 (shekel),

4/30 (*gur*) *gú-gal* (i.e. "Platterbse"), its money value 1/3 shekel,

3 talents 45 mina gypsum, its money value 22½ še,

blank for a space,

níg-ku DUL . KU.

Reverse :

Col. 4. Signed document of Lugal-gar-lagar-e.

Blank for space of two lines.

2/3 mina of silver, Lukalla received

1/3 mina of silver, seal not impressed, Lukalla.

Total : 2 mina 7 1/3 shekels 1½ še of silver is the expenditure,

balance of 1 mina 9 1/3 shekels 10½ še of silver.

Cols. 5 and 6 are quite blank.

Col. 7. Balanced account of Šeškalla the *dam-qar*,
the month *pap-ú-è*,
6th year of Bur Sin.

(Note.—The *total* given by the scribe in Col. 1 is $1/6$ of a mina in excess of the figures in *my copy* and given in the above reproduction.)

The above tablet is one of comparatively few of the type. Balanced accounts are fairly frequent, but not balanced accounts of traders. A comparison of the above with similar documents of Ur III suggests the following remarks.

The essential elements in the general scheme of such accounts are : Capital, Expenditure, Balance.

The tablet may be divided into two clear parts. Part I, which might be compared to one column of a modern balance sheet, gives the source of the capital, i.e. it enumerates the various stuffs with their respective money equivalents. The amounts of money are added up and the whole is described as Capital sum.

The second part begins with the rubric : from this (capital sum). There follows a list of stuffs with their respective money value which when totalled up is described as "expenditure". If the total expenditure in money is greater or less than the total amount of capital in money, the difference is expressed in terms of "excess" or "remainder". The "business efficiency" of this method of book-keeping of 4000 years ago is not the least interesting item in a document full of apparently tiresome details.

I take it that the first part summarises a transaction, that is, it summarises exchange of various commodities for money. It seems to me unlikely that it is merely a list of things on hand with the amount they would fetch rather than the amount which they have already fetched in the market. It is not stated that the *dam-qar* himself effected the exchange. It will, I think, be clear from the material examined in the course of this study that the *dam-qar* was concerned more with tokens, i.e. with money, than with things.

The second part of the tablet may be reduced to the following simple scheme—I quote from the tablet translated above: “3 mina 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ shekels 12 še of silver—the capital, out of which a total of 2 mina 7 $\frac{1}{3}$ shekels $1\frac{1}{2}$ še of silver has been expended, leaving a balance of 1 mina 9 $\frac{1}{3}$ shekels $10\frac{1}{2}$ še of silver” The mathematics of this calculation are accurate!

It is clear that the chief concern of the account is money and not materials valued in money. It is also clear that the balance or, as elsewhere,¹ the “excess” or “surplus” (*dir*) expresses the relation of expenditure to capital. It does not represent loss or profit on undertakings.

An examination of the various documents of this type shows that the stuffs which provide the money which is the capital are almost always quite other than the stuffs which are bought by the money expended. The stuffs which provide the capital are wool, barley, silver, dates, fish (in enormous quantities and of various sorts!), gold, fats, skins, corn. The goods on which the money was expended are spices, minerals and chemicals, woods, etc.

The tablet quoted above deals with the operations of Šeškalla in the sixth year of Bur Sin. Another tablet² concerned with the same person is dated in the fifth year of Bur Sin. The first line of the tablet translated above and described as the remainder from the previous year is exactly the remainder given on the other tablet of the previous year. So we have here two of a series belonging to the same *dam-qar*. The other persons *dam-qar* whose accounts are calculated are Inimmanizi (Bur Sin 5),³ Sagtar (Bur Sin 4), Padda⁴ (Bur Sin 6), Ur-^dDumuzida (Bur Sin 4 and one, date illegible).⁵ We seem to have here part of a collection of such records of the early years of the reign of Bur Sin. Others will later appear to complete the series, perhaps.

We must try to establish the relation of the *dam-qar* and the persons named in the “expenditure” section, with the expenditure and with one another. It is certain that the money was held by the *dam-qar* and that the money was used to purchase the various stuffs given in the list. But who made the purchases?

¹ T.E.O. 5680.

⁴ Chiera S.T.A. 23.

² Ibid. 6056.

⁵ Ibid. 22; T.E.O. 5680.

³ Ibid. 6052.

Did the *dam-qar* make the purchases directly or through another, i.e. through the person named? Or did the *dam-qar* loan the money to that person who traded the money for the goods mentioned, and in his own interests?

It is doubtful whether the tablets of this type afford sufficient evidence on which to base a final answer. Perhaps if we were certain of the exact significance of the words *dub-Person* in this context the answer would be clear. Tentatively I suggest that the words imply "receipt" of the money quoted for the goods mentioned in the list. In support of this suggestion is a tablet¹ of the type we are considering, which follows the ordinary pattern almost throughout the "expenditure" portion but departs from it in one instance where it is written "so much silver, Lukalla received . . . the seal not impressed". Whence I infer that the phrase *dub-Person* on this type of tablet means a record of receipt which has been impressed by a seal. Where the tablet recording such receipt has not been sealed the lack of seal is expressly stated and the fact of receipt merely is emphasised.

The item *dub-Person will*, therefore, express in most summary form the receipt of money from the *dam-qar* by the person named. Such receipt of money would, no doubt, be recorded, as was the receipt of other commodities, on a tablet specially made for the purpose, and in this form: "Such and such a quantity of money from X, Y, the *dam-qar*, received".

The line, for example, "1/30 (*gur*) 5 *qa* of pure honey, its money value 10 shekels, sealed tablet of Lukalla" is a statement that so much money has been received by Lukalla in return for that much honey.

What then was the relation between the *dam-qar* who gave the money and the persons who received it? One is tempted to suggest that these latter were agents for the former. But there is no evidence to support the suggestion. There is no reason to see in the context anything more than the purchase from those persons by the *dam-qar* of the goods mentioned in the list.

It is possible that the *dam-qar* had agents, and there is one

tablet¹ which may bear witness to this. It is a record of goods of the sort mentioned in "balanced accounts" of the *dam-qar* such as the one given in detail above, and their respective money equivalents. At the end of the tablet, and it is always the end of a tablet which gives the clue to all that has gone before it, it is said: "spices which have been bought, from X (an erasure in the tablet makes it difficult to establish the name of the person) their tablet (recording the purchases) Padda the *dam-qar* has received".

We now have the picture of the *dam-qar* possessed of quantities of goods. What did he do with them? If, as seems likely, for these tablets are probably temple administration tablets, and not records of independent personal business transactions, the *dam-qar* was purchasing on behalf of the temple or of some part of it, e.g. the town mill, then his chief work is accomplished. Any further movement of the goods will be someone else's concern. And there is a document² which records such movement of such goods as we know the *dam-qar* purchased. It is a tablet from Umma, whence our balanced accounts derive, and gives a list of gypsum, alkali, bitumen, onions, woods and fish, and ends with the statement "from the *dam-qar* (plural) Lanimu has received (these)". Unfortunately we do not know the status of this person Lanimu; otherwise we might be able to trace the goods further.

The association of the *dam-qar* with money is clear from what has been said so far. It is further illustrated by tablets which record the loan of money by the *dam-qar*. Thus, a Nippur text³ reads:

"10 shekels of silver, interest two shekels, from Addakalla the *dam-qar*, Urmeme and Ummitabat received, before (four persons). Date." It will be recalled that later, in the Code of Hammurabi, such loans of money were matter of legislation.

The interest is in proportion of one shekel to five shekels; i.e. 20 per cent. ! But interest was not always taken on money. Thus the following record, also from Nippur: ⁴ "Four shekels

¹ Keiser *S.T.D.* 295.

³ Pohl *R.V.U.* 6.

² *G.D.D.* 253.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1.

of silver, interest not taken, from Lugalazida, Lala received". But, as the seal informs us, the receiver in this case was a *dam-qar* ! But it would be untrue to say that *dam-qar* was exempt from payment of interest when he borrowed money. There is a Nippur tablet¹ which makes him liable to the current 20 per cent.

So far the evidence shows that a *dam-qar* was an "expenders" of money, probably on behalf of the temple or some public institution, either as a buyer of goods or as a money-lender. But occasionally he is associated with "things" as distinct from money. Thus: "10 mina of copper, 10 shekels of a metal (perhaps antimony), the copper of Padda the *dam-qar*, from Lubanda Urnigingar the smith has received".² Elsewhere there are references to "asses the property of *dam-qar*" (plural);³ of "oxen from the *dam-qar*";⁴ and of copper supplied by the *dam-qar*.⁵ He is associated with gold on a tablet from Adab⁶ and on an Umma tablet⁷ the only mention of gold in all the expenditure is the entry "5/6 mina the selling price for gold, Ur^dDumuzida received"; and he is no doubt the merchant whose account is here being balanced. Lastly, in this connexion, we may quote two tablets which record bigger "deals" on the part of a *dam-qar*. The first is from an unpublished tablet in the British Museum⁸ which reads:

3½ shekels of silver
is the price of Nin-ú-šim-e the female child of Allu,
from Lugalsig the *dam-qar*
brought
Gududu
received (it)
Date.

(Ur-Nusku the *dam-qar* buys a male slave for II shekels on behalf of another, at Nippur.⁹ This is probably the same Nippur Ur-Nusku who buys palm trees.¹⁰ A legal decision at

¹ Pohl R.V.U. 23.

² Contenau T.C.C. (R.A. 12).

³ S.T.H. 148; S.T.A. 12: 7.

⁴ S.T.A. 12, V: 14.

⁵ I.T.T. IV, 7735.

⁶ I.A. 159.

⁷ S.T.A. 22, III: 29—IV: 2, cp. IV: 8.

⁸ B.M. 105412.

⁹ Myrhrman 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 14.

Lagash, in the matter of a person "bought" involves the *dam-qar* who "presents" the money to the seller.)¹

The second² records the purchase of a house thus :

5 shekels of silver, as purchase price of a house in
Sagdana of Šuruppak town, from Akalla Lugalšaga
has received.

There is a mention³ of boats belonging to *dam-qar*. This solitary association of the *dam-qar* with boats suggests, as might have been assumed without evidence, that the *dam-qar* did his business at various points on the local canals and waterways. And it is interesting that the reference is not to any particular *dam-qar* but to *dam-qar* simply, thereby confirming, what has already been suggested that there was a section of the community known as the *dam-qar* class with special function and means of communication and transport "for members only".

It has been asserted (above) as probable that the *dam-qar* was an employee. At Lagash this was certainly the case, for we have records⁴ of list of employees of the "mill" with their wages. Another⁵ tablet is of the class known as "še-ba", i.e. records of payments of barley to the persons named. The persons styled *dam-qar* on this last tablet are given the further description of bailiff (*nagīru*). Whether they received their wages in their capacity as bailiff or as *dam-qar* is not clear. We may add that a *dam-qar* such as our evidence portrays him would be a very suitable person for the office of bailiff.

¹ I.T.T. II, 832.

² S.T.D. 287.

³ Š.A. 134, IV.

⁴ S.T.H. II, 14.

⁵ T.U. 154, II : 22, 23.

JOHN OF GAUNT AND THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF LANCASHIRE.

By H. G. RICHARDSON, M.A., B.Sc.

I.

THE early history of parliamentary representation becomes instructive when we leave the field of conjecture and are able to discover what actually took place between the issue of the king's writ to the sheriff (or whoever stood in his place) and the sheriff's return. Writs and returns we possess in large numbers from the early years of Edward I: what we rarely know is how the knights and burgesses were selected. It so happens that special circumstances have led to the preservation of a number of documents which throw light upon the representation of Lancashire during the reign of Richard II.¹ These documents have not attracted the notice of historians and they are well worth attention, for they have more than a local interest.

On 28th February, 1377, John of Gaunt was granted within the county of Lancaster all privileges and royal rights appertaining to an earl palatine, such as the Earl of Chester enjoyed

¹ The documents printed in the Appendix are drawn from the following sources: Palatinate of Lancaster Privy Seals and Warrants (P.L. 3/1), of which there is a very imperfect, and therefore nearly useless, calendar in *Deputy Keeper's Report*, XLIII, 363-70; Palatinate of Lancaster Chancery Files (P.L. 14/154); and John of Gaunt's Register, Part II (D.L. 42/14), an edition of which is in course of publication by the Royal Historical Society. (It may be desirable to point out, in this connexion, that the division of fourteenth-century records between the Palatinate and the Duchy is quite meaningless.) I have also drawn extensively on the Parliamentary Writs (C. 219), to which the only guides after the reign of Edward II are Prynne's *Register of Parliamentary Writs* and the official *Return of Members of Parliament* (H.C. 69 of 1878): while both are very useful, neither is very satisfactory, and for detailed study the only thing is to look at the writs themselves. My other references are, I hope, self-explanatory.

within the county of Chester.¹ Cheshire did not return parliamentary representatives, whereas hitherto Lancashire had done so, and the grant provided that the Duke of Lancaster should send to the king's parliaments and councils two knights for the community of the county and two burgesses from every borough in the county. Writs of summons, therefore, were in future addressed not to the sheriff of Lancashire but to the duke: but apart from minor modifications, designed to adapt the wording to the special conditions of a county palatine, the writs continued to be couched in the same form as that used for the sheriffs of other counties.² This was, in fact, a reversion to the procedure followed during the years when Henry of Grosmont had been duke: and it is important to realise that John of Gaunt's position in Lancashire from 1377 onwards very closely resembled, if it was not at all points identical with, that of his father-in-law during the latter years of his life.

We do not know very much of the method of selecting parliamentary representatives under Duke Henry. In 1341 his father, Henry of Lancaster, had been granted, as earl, the return of writs in the county;³ but parliamentary writs continued to be addressed to the sheriff and the return to be made by the sheriff. There was no change when Henry of Grosmont succeeded to the earldom and to the extensive privileges granted to his father. But, curiously enough, after his surrender of these privileges and their regrant to him for life on 25th September, 1349,⁴ the

¹ *Foedera*, III, ii, 1073: "libertates et iura regalia ad comitem palatinum pertinentia."

² Modifications were made in the address, the Lancashire writs being addressed to the duke or to his lieutenant or, from 1383, to the duke or his chancellor within the duchy. The penultimate clause in the common form of writ, directing that the sheriff should not return himself, was either omitted or, from 20th August, 1383, modified so as to refer to the sheriff of the duchy. For these modifications it is necessary to refer to the original writs, since the enrolments merely give an abbreviated address. See *Lords Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, IV, 675 ff.

³ Charter of 14th July, 1341: *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417*, p. 8. This was not printed by W. Hardy, *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster* (1845). The charter of 7th May, 1342 (*ibid.*, pp. 1-4: *Cal. Charter Rolls*, p. 10) grants additional privileges.

⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1348-50*, p. 402; Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

sheriff evidently felt some difficulty about executing such writs.¹ On 25th November, 1350, the usual writ had been addressed to the sheriff for the election of knights and burgesses to the parliament of 9th February, 1351,² but he referred the matter to the earl's bailiff, William Lawrence. The sheriff then did nothing more than forward the bailiff's reply.³ In this parliament, be it noted, Henry of Grosmont was created duke and was granted the privileges of an earl palatine by letters patent which used the same terms as were to be employed twenty-six years later, when the same dignity was conferred upon John of Gaunt.⁴ It is not certain whether the writ for electing knights and burgesses to attend the next parliament, that of 13th January, 1352, was addressed to the sheriff or the duke, since the original writ for Lancashire has not survived: but although the enrolment on the close roll does not mention a special writ for Lancashire,⁵ the clerk, as on another occasion, may have overlooked it or thought a note unnecessary.⁶ However, the writ of 20th July, 1352, which summoned a great council for 16th August,⁷ and the writ of 15th July, 1353, which summoned a great council for 23rd September,⁸ were both addressed to the duke: and it is

¹ There is a puzzle here. From 1341 until the creation of the duchy the relation of the sheriff to the earl, on the one hand, and to the king, on the other, would seem to have remained unchanged. Throughout this period the earl was hereditary sheriff and appointed the officer who carried out the duties and received the title of sheriff: at the same time the earl had the return of writs. This would seem to mean (a) that the sheriff accounted at the exchequer on behalf of the earl, and (b) that any action he took on the king's writs was equally on behalf of the earl. What were the functions of the earl's bailiff, who is mentioned below, it is as difficult to understand as it is to explain why his position was recognised, apparently for the first time, in 1350.

² No parliament was held in 1349 or 1350. That summoned in the former year was abandoned and no returns survive for it.

³ The return is, as usual, endorsed on the writ: it is badly defaced by gall, but the important opening words are legible. "*Willelmus de Scargylle vicecomes Lancastrie sic respondet: Returnum istius brevis mandatum fuit Willelmo Laurence balliuo libertatis Henrici comitis Lancastrie qui habet returnum omnium breuium in comitatu predicto, qui sic respondet: Nomina militum secundum formam etc.*" (C. 219/7/2).

⁴ *Lords' Reports*, V, 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 593.

⁶ See note 8 below.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 595.

⁸ No indication that this writ was addressed to the duke appears upon the close roll (*ibid.*, p. 600), but the original writ has survived (C. 219/7/6).

certain that, thereafter, until the duke's death in 1362, parliamentary writs were addressed to him or his lieutenant.¹

The only indication of the method of selection at this period appears to be given in the return to the writ of 3rd April, 1360, summoning a parliament for 15th May following. This return reads :

Nicholaus de Colshulle locum tenens Henrici ducis Lancastrie in ducatu Lancastrie, ipso duce in remotis agente, sic respondet :—

Virtute huius brevis Willelmus de Heskeythe miles et Rogerus de Faryngtone electi sunt milites per communitatem dicti ducatus ad respondendum et faciendum in presenti parlamento domini nostri regis pro dicto ducatu iuxta tenorem dicti brevis.²

Taking this statement at its face value, we should conclude that the knights were elected in the county court, and this may have been the case during Duke Henry's lifetime ; but we shall see that reliance cannot be placed upon the wording of the return to the king's writ.

The first parliament to be summoned after Duke Henry's death was that of 13th October, 1362.³ John of Gaunt had succeeded to the earldom, but he had not succeeded to the palatine jurisdiction, which had been conferred upon Henry of Grosmont for life. The writ, therefore, was addressed to the sheriff, who replied :

Iohannes de Ippe vicecomes Lancastrie respondet :

Ex assensu tocius comitatus Lancastrie in pleno comitatu electi duo milites videlicet Edwardum Laurence et Matheum de Rixtone *etc.*⁴

This reply seems plain enough. The sheriff had chosen two knights with the assent of the county court. And although the sheriff was going beyond what we should to-day regard as proper for a returning officer to do, there was nothing in what he did—or said he did—contrary to fourteenth-century practice. Indeed, in January, 1358, the king had written round to the sheriffs,

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 603-626.

² C. 219/7/12. For the writ see *Lords' Reports*, IV, 623-24.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 632-33.

⁴ C. 219/7/14. The return is badly defaced and the latter part is illegible.

three weeks after the writs of summons had gone out, instructing them to arrange that the two knights selected for the Candlemas parliament of that year should be among the wisest and ablest in the country.¹ A little earlier the writs for several parliaments, from 1351 to 1355, had expressly excluded from the sheriff's choice professional pleaders, maintainers of complaints and those who live by litigation, and had directed it to worthy men of good faith who seek the public advantage.² Little wonder, therefore, if the sheriff felt that his was the principal responsibility. And though it was implied that the county court should assent to his choice, the suitors could have been expected to exercise not much more than a veto upon the sheriff's nomination.³ Now, on the occasion of the parliament of October, 1362, it was alleged that the Lancastrian knights, Edward Lawrence and Matthew of Rishton, had been improperly returned since they had not, in fact, been chosen with the common assent of the county court. The two men seem to have been acting as deputies for the sheriff, and the inference is that they returned themselves. So far as appears from the records, the only penalty was to supersede the payment of their expenses. The action taken by the king seems to make it clear, however, that there was intended to be a real election in the county court, not necessarily, of course, conducted on anything approaching modern lines, but in such a way that the suitors would have an opportunity of expressing their assent or dissent.⁴

Whether the warning was heeded is another matter. For the rest of the reign of Edward III few parliamentary writs

¹ "Vous mandons et chargeons fermement enioignantz qe vous ordenez qe deux chivalers de plus sages et plus suffisantz de vostre baillie soient esluz et vieignent a nostre dit parlement." The letters under privy seal to the sheriffs of Gloucester, Middlesex, and York are preserved (C. 219/7/11). I cannot find one to Worcester which Prynne mentions (*Register of Parliamentary Writs*, III, 155-56).

² *Lords' Reports*, IV, 590, 593, 603, 605.

³ This is borne out by a petition presented in 1376 (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 355, no. 186). For the subject generally, see Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (5th ed.), III, 410-16.

⁴ The documents are printed from the Close Roll in *Lords' Reports*, IV, 633-34: they had previously been printed by Prynne, *op. cit.*, IV, 259-61. See also *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 441.

addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire have survived. The terms of the return made to the writ of summons for the parliament of 27th January, 1377, are, however, worth reproducing :

Ricardus de Tounlay vicecomes Lancastrie sic respondet :

Exlexi virtute istius brevis duos milites comitatus Lancastrie gladiis cinctos, videlicet Iohannem Botiller militem et Rogerum de Pilkington militem, qui plenam et sufficientem potestatem habent ad faciendum et consensendum in omnibus, secundum formam et tenorem istius brevis, et quos ad diem et locum in isto breui contentos venire faciam, prout istud breue in se requirit. . . .¹

It will be noted that there is no reference here to the assent of the county court : all that is said is that the sheriff has chosen the knights.

After the grant of palatine jurisdiction to John of Gaunt no parliament met during the lifetime of Edward III, but the writ for the first parliament of Richard II's reign, which assembled on 13th October, 1377, is addressed to John, King of Castille and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, or to his lieutenant in the duchy aforesaid.² ("Duchy," it should perhaps be observed, during the lifetime of John of Gaunt, as in the time of Duke Henry, meant no more than the county of Lancaster.) Exactly what the duke did in response to this writ we do not know, for the original writ and the documents connected with it appear now to be lost. All we do know is that John Butler and Nicholas of Harrington appeared in parliament as knights of the shire and received their writ of expenses.³

The next parliament met at Gloucester on 20th October, 1378, and for this we have the original writ to the duke and his return. The language he employs is significant :

Iohannes rex Castelle et Legionis, dux Lancastrie, sic respondet :

Virtute istius brevis mitto vobis ad presens parlamentum vestrum duos milites pro communitate comitatus mei palatini

¹ C. 219/7/25. The concluding words, referring to citizens and burgesses, I have omitted : see below, p. 187. The writ will be found in *Lords' Reports*, IV, 671.

² *Ibid.*, 675.

³ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1377-81*, p. 107.

Lancastrie ad tractandum cum aliis de communitate regni vestri ad dictum parliamentum venientibus, videlicet Iohannem Butiller chiualer, et Radulphum de Ippe quos ad diem et locum in isto breui contentos venire faciam, prout istud breue in se requirit, et qui milites plenam et sufficientem potestatem pro se et communitate ducatus nostri Lancastrie habent, secundum formam et tenorem istius breuis. . . .¹

The duke, it will be noted, says nothing of election or the assent of the county. He sends the knights, and they have full and sufficient power for themselves and the community of the duchy to act and to consent to whatever shall be agreed upon in parliament: in other words, they are fully representative. What share did the county court have in their selection? To this question an answer is suggested by the surviving documents connected with the three following parliaments.

At this point, however, it may be well to say something of the manner in which the administration of the duchy was carried on.² Palatine jurisdiction meant, among other things, the creation of a separate chancery for the county, and express provision is made for this in Edward III's grants to Duke Henry and to John of Gaunt. It is true that in Chester, which was taken as a model, the functions of a chancellor were performed by an officer called the chamberlain: but in the other great palatine franchise in England, namely, Durham, a chancellor was to be found, and this is equally the case in the great Irish franchises. At the same time John of Gaunt had a chancellor attached to his person, who seems to have been responsible for the preparation of mandates addressed to the chancellor of the duchy and other duchy officers. These mandates, as will be seen from the documents printed in the Appendix, might be under the duke's privy seal or his signet: in what circumstances the one or the other was used is not at present clear. What seems to be certain is that

¹ C. 219/8/2. For the writ see *Lords' Reports*, IV, 678. John Butler and Ralph of Ippe duly received the writ for their expenses: see *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 220.

² For some account of this, see J. F. Baldwin, "The Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster," *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, IV, 129-43, and Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, III, 191 ff.

the actual directions were given by the duke's council, sometimes, but not usually, reinforced by the duke's personal authority, and that the instruments were dated at whatever place the duke happened to be.¹ The king's writ, therefore, would need to find its way to the duke's council, who would add their instructions before a mandate was prepared on behalf of the duke which would set the duchy officers in motion. This system inevitably involved delays that did not arise in the case of ordinary parliamentary writs. But even when the writ went direct from the king's chancery to the sheriff, there might be insufficient time to secure proper compliance. Thus, in 1346 the writ summoning parliament to meet on 11th September was dated 30th July, which left an interval of more than the traditional forty days. By some mischance, however, the writ did not get into the hands of the sheriff of Lancashire until 9th September, and, although the knights were chosen on that same day,² they could obviously not reach Westminster until after the opening of parliament. Actually they seem to have been only two days late and must have made a very rapid journey to London, the weather being favourable at that time of year.³ It is quite clear, however, that any circumstances that added to the difficulties of executing the writ would be likely to make election in the

¹ Or, if he were absent, where the keeper of the duchy happened to be.

² For the writ see *Lords' Reports*, IV, 559-60. In his return the sheriff thought it prudent to set out the facts (C. 219/6/21): Iohannes Cokayn vicecomes Lancastrie sic respondet: Breue istud mihi liberatum fuit apud Prestone in comitatu predicto die sabbati in crastino Natiuitatis beate Marie Virginis, quo die milites electi fuerunt secundum tenorem istius breuis. . . .

³ The writ of expenses allows wages for 18 days: since expenses for 12 days were customarily allowed for the double journey from Lancashire and back, 6 days are left for attendance. The standard period for attendance is given by the allowance to the Middlesex knights: at this parliament 8 days. Hence it is to be deduced that the Lancashire knights were unable to claim for the first 2 days of the session. It may be noted that the Yorkshire knights also had a customary allowance of 12 days for the double journey and that at this parliament they received wages for 20 days (Prynne, *Register of Parliamentary Writs*, IV, 201-4: the *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1346-49*, p. 161, unfortunately omits particulars and is misleading). In favourable circumstances, however, the journey between York and London could be performed in something over 4 days: see F. M. Stenton, "The Road System of Medieval England," *Economic History Review*, VII, 17.

county court, from time to time at least, quite impossible. This is an important consideration to be borne in mind.

Let us now return to the parliaments of Richard II's reign. The parliament of Gloucester was soon followed by a parliament that met at Westminster on 24th April, 1379, and the writ was addressed to the duke on 16th February.¹ On this occasion we know what he did. On 5th March he sent the chancellor of the duchy a letter under his signet,² in which he recited briefly the contents of the king's writ and gave instructions for carrying it out. Writs are to be prepared under the duchy seal instructing two of three persons named to attend parliament, evidently, although this is not expressly stated, as knights of the shire: as regards citizens and burgesses the chancellor is himself to arrange and send writs to the most suitable persons for the purpose. Leaving aside for the moment the question of town representatives, we may note that none of the three persons named in fact appeared in parliament, although two knights for Lancashire, Nicholas of Harrington and Robert of Urswick, received a writ of expenses.³ Since no further documents connected with Lancastrian representatives at this parliament have survived, we can only guess why the duke's instructions were not carried out and wonder whether there was, after all, some form of election in the county court. No obvious reasons of haste will explain the duke's action in nominating the knights, for there was an interval of seven clear weeks between the date of his signet letter and the assembly of parliament.

Again, in the case of the next parliament, which was summoned for 16th January, 1380, ample time was allowed for the preliminaries of election, since the writs are dated 20th October, 1379.⁴ When the writ for Lancashire reached the duke does not appear, but we know that in consequence of it he sent his own writ to the sheriff under the great seal of the duchy. What this writ contained we can only surmise, since it seems not to have survived, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was similar in terms to that of 30th November, 1392, and others of later date which are discussed below. But before the sheriff could execute

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 681.

³ *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1377-81*, p. 252.

² Below: Appendix no. 1.

⁴ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 683-84.

this writ he was sent a letter under the duke's privy seal dated 17th November,¹ telling him that the duke had chosen John Butler and William of Atherton and that these two were to be accepted and received as parliamentary representatives. Subject to this the duke's former writ was to be executed. Of the duke's two nominees, however, one only is named in his return, which is couched in the same terms as that for the Gloucester parliament quoted above. It seems certain, therefore, that there was no election, but that William of Atherton excused himself, or was not available, and was replaced by Thomas of Southworth, who is returned as John Butler's companion.²

The next document available to us confirms the impression that there was either no election or that the barest formalities were observed. The writ requiring the election of representatives for Lancashire at the parliament to meet at Northampton on 5th November was dated at Westminster on 26th August, 1380.³ On 28th September, writing from York, the duke sent the writ to the sheriff and ordered him to comply with it, adding, however, that John Butler and Thomas of Southworth were to be elected : ⁴ and these men were duly returned and received their expenses.⁵

For the next two years no original documents appear to have survived, and we have no light on the methods employed in selecting representatives for Lancashire. But we have the duke's return for the parliament that met on 23rd February, 1383, and we note that the form has now changed.⁶

Responsio Iohannis regis Castelle et Legionis, ducis Lancastrie, ad istud breue :

Nomina militum electorum de ducatu Lancastrie ad veniendum ad parlamentum, de quo in breui isto fit mencio, sufficientem potestatem habencium, pro se et communitate ducatus

¹ Below : Appendix no. 2.

² C. 219/8/4. They duly received their writ for expenses : see *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 355.

³ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 686-87.

⁴ Below : Appendix no. 3.

⁵ *Return of Members of Parliament*, I, 206.

⁶ C. 219/8/8. For the writ of 7th January, 1383, see *Lords' Reports*, IV, 702-703.

predicti, ad consenciendum hiis que in dicto parlamento, fauente Domino, ordinari contigerit :—

Ricardus de Hoghtone.

Robertus de Cliftone.

We know nothing of how these two men were selected, but we have some curious information regarding the selection of representatives for the second parliament of the same year, which met on 26th October. The usual writ was addressed to the duke on 20th August,¹ and on 1st September, writing from Banbury, he sent a letter under his privy seal to the chancellor of the duchy² enclosing the writ and instructing him to prepare letters under the duke's great seal accordingly. But the bearer of the letter did not run down the chancellor until 21st October, when he found him in Westminster Hall. It was then too late to execute the warrant and, on the duke's special instructions, Walter Urswick and John Holcroft were returned. Let us observe that the form of return to the king's writ³ is substantially in the same terms as that made for the previous parliament.

Responsio Iohannis regis Castelle et Legionis, ducis Lancastrie :

Nomina militum electorum in ducatu Lancastrie ad veniendum ad instans parlamentum pro communitate ducatus predicti sufficientem potestatem pro se et dicta communitate habencium ad faciendum et consenciendum hiis que in eodem parlamento contigerit ordinari :

Walterus Vrswyk chiualer

Iohannes Holcroft.

The usual writ of expenses was issued by the royal chancery in favour of Holcroft only,⁴ and the reason for this is made clear by a privy seal letter of 5th October, 1384, from the duke to the chancellor of the duchy.⁵ This explains that, before the parliament ended, Urswick, with the special licence of the king, left for Calais in the duke's company. Consequently no expenses had been paid to him. The chancellor was now required to

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 705.

² C. 219/8/9.

³ Below : Appendix, no. 5.

⁴ Below : Appendix no. 4.

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1381-85*, p. 415.

issue a writ to the sheriff, under the duke's great seal, requiring the payment to Urswick of his expenses, not merely for the period of his attendance at parliament, but to the same amount as had been granted to Holcroft, that is for the whole of the session and the journey to and from Lancashire.

The next parliament met at Salisbury on 29th April, 1384, and the writs issued on 3rd March. That for Lancashire must have taken nearly three weeks to reach the duke, for his privy seal warrant to the chancellor of the duchy is dated 24th March at Newcastle-on-Tyne,¹ and it seems unlikely that the county court was consulted. The warrant is, in any case, in such terms as to leave the chancellor complete discretion, and does not require him to issue letters to the sheriff under the duke's great seal. The duke's return to the king's writ² is merely of the "nomina militum veniencium ad parliamentum vnde in isto breui fit mencio pro communitate ducatus nostri Lancastrie—Rogerus de Pilkynghone chiualer et Thomas Gerarde. . . ."

For nearly eight years we have little further information. We may note, however, that the return for the parliament of 20th October, 1385,³ is in similar terms to that last mentioned, and that from 1386 onwards⁴ the form used is "Virtute istius breuis eligi fecimus de ducatu nostro Lancastrie duo milites . . ." or something very similar. For the parliament which met at Winchester on 20th January, 1393, we possess the duke's writ to the sheriff.⁵ This writ, which is dated 30th November, 1392, embodies the king's writ of 23rd November. It is to be presumed that on this occasion the sheriff did bring the matter before the county court—although this is not certain. As will be seen from his return, which is printed in the Appendix, he notified to the duke's chancery the selection of two knights, Robert of Urswick and Thomas of Radcliffe; but to this return there is added a note that subsequently the duke gave instructions that Ralph of Ypres should be substituted for Thomas of Radcliffe. Similar writs and returns have survived for the parliaments of 27th January, 1395, 22nd January, 1397, and

¹ Below : Appendix no. 6.

² C. 219/8/10. For the writ see *Lords' Reports*, IV, 709.

³ C. 219/8/12.

⁴ C. 219/9/1 ; 4 ; 5 ; 7 ; 8.

⁵ Below : Appendix no. 7.

17th September, 1397.¹ The returns for January, 1395, and January, 1397, follow closely in their form that for January, 1393; but there is no suggestion of intervention by the duke. The return for September, 1397, is noteworthy for the change in the wording of the return:

Responsio Ricardi Molyneux vicecomitis Lancastrie:

De comitatu meo Lancastrie duos milites, videlicet Iohannem Botiller de Werrington chiualer et Radulphum de Radcliffe chiualer, gladiis cinctos, magis idoneos et discretos comitatus predicti, eligi feci ex assensu comitatus predicti, qui quidem milites plenam et sufficientem potestatem pro se et communitate comitatus predicti ab ipsis habent ad faciendum et consencendum hiis que in parlamento domini nostri regis infra specificato de communi consilio regni Anglie ordinari contigerint super negociis infrascriptis, secundum formam et tenorem istius breuis, et quos milites ad diem et locum infra contentos venire faciam prout breue istud inde requirit. . . .

Here at last we seem to have a clear indication that there was some form of election in the county court and that the assent of the suitors was obtained.

No further parliament was summoned by Richard II before John of Gaunt's death in February, 1399. But before commenting upon the documents we have passed under review, it will be well to say something of the representation of Lancastrian boroughs. Lancaster and Preston had not infrequently been represented under Edward I, and Liverpool and Wigan had sent burgesses to parliament in 1295 and 1307. But under Edward II and Edward III the representation of the two latter boroughs ceased, and while Lancaster sent burgesses with fair regularity, Preston was but occasionally represented until the year 1331, whereafter no more burgesses came to any mediæval parliament from Lancashire.² In subsequent years the sheriff had stated

¹ P.L. 14/154/3/29; 67; 83.

² For these particulars see the official *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. I. I have traced no later return of borough members than that for 1331 endorsed on the writ in C. 219/5/10. Prynne's statement that Lancaster and Preston returned burgesses in 33 Edward III, and Lancaster alone in certain intermediate years, appears to be a mistake (*Register of Parliamentary Writs*, III, 203, 235).

in his return that there were no cities or boroughs in the county,¹ or merely returned two knights without referring to cities and boroughs. No political reasons, such as the grant of return of writs to the earl or the creation of the duchy, suggest themselves as determining the occasions on which borough representatives were returned or were not returned. With the revival of the duchy for John of Gaunt, he, or his council, would seem to have contemplated the return of borough representatives: otherwise there would have been no point in writing, as in the duke's letter of 5th March, 1379, instructing the chancellor of the duchy to send writs to the most suitable persons for the purpose.² Moreover, it is clear that on other occasions the duke transmitted to his sheriff the instructions he had himself received from the king, and the sheriff, and the duke in turn, returned no town representatives on the ground either of the insufficiency and poverty of the burgesses or of ancient custom.³ Whatever we may think of the excuse given, it seems evident that the reasons were purely local which determined that no burgesses should be returned from Lancashire after 1331.

With the accession of Henry IV writs began to be addressed to the chancellor of the duchy, and it is possible that the surviving records would teach us something new of methods of election in the fifteenth century.⁴ But in that century the

¹ Prynne gives specimens, *ibid.*, III, 235-36.

² Below: Appendix no. 1.

³ P.L. 14/154/3/29; 67; 83: C. 219/9/11-13: Prynne, *op. cit.*, III, 236-7.

⁴ I have not looked, but I may note one small fact which shows how original records may supplement our knowledge. The writ of 19th August, 1399, summoning parliament for 30th September was, according to the enrolment—the original has not survived—addressed to Henry, duke of Lancaster, or the chancellor of the duchy (*Lords' Reports*, IV, 767). The enrolment again states that the writ of 30th September, summoning parliament for 6th October, was similarly addressed, i.e. to the king himself (*ibid.*, p. 769): but the original writ shows that the address was to the sheriff of Lancaster (C. 219/10/1, no. 15). Thereafter, however, the rule was, as stated above, to address the writs to the chancellor of the duchy. On 10th November, 1399, the king announced his intention of creating Henry of Monmouth duke of Lancaster and delivered him a charter to this effect (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 428, no. 81). This charter is not enrolled and it seems certain that it conferred no more than an honorific title, the administration of the duchy remaining in the king's hands: cf. *inter alia*, *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417*, p. 431, and *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 46.

atmosphere is changing. The stream of legislation is beginning which determines the qualifications for exercising the parliamentary franchise and which regulates elections.¹ The constitutional importance of the House of Commons is then manifest. With the fourteenth century we are still in the formative period, when less is known of parliamentary elections. For these reasons, and because to carry the story further would require much space, it will be best to limit this paper to the period of John of Gaunt.

In the fourteenth century, as we have seen, the Government did attempt to regulate elections by means of directions to the sheriff conveyed by writ or letter under the privy seal : but they were regulating within a framework determined, it would seem, by custom. We cannot point to any early ordinance governing parliamentary elections. Representative institutions were not so much the result of deliberate creation as the offspring of temporary needs and conveniences. In the thirteenth century representatives of the shires and towns had been summoned to parliament only occasionally : and although they were summoned with growing frequency as the years went on, it is not until the reign of Edward III that we can say with any confidence that the commons are an essential and unfailing constituent of parliament. In the circumstances it appears to have been left to the sheriff to determine not only the method of selection in the county but the choice of towns to be represented. It seems clear that there grew up a tradition of free choice in the county court, but this stood side by side with the right which the Crown claimed to require that the representatives sent to parliament should be fit and proper persons. The position in the boroughs does not concern us here, but there was less uniformity than in the counties and the selection was, broadly speaking, in the hands of the governing body of the town.²

To reconcile free choice with guidance by authority is not always easy. In practice, if friction were to be avoided, it meant a good working understanding between the sheriff and the more influential suitors of the county court. But we suspect that not

¹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (5th ed.), III, 417-27.

² *Ibid.*, 427-35 ; M. McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of English Boroughs during the Middle Ages*, pp. 13-16, 33-40, 46-65.

infrequently the difficulty was to persuade or compel suitors to submit to election. No doubt more or less suitably qualified men were often quite willing to make the journey to parliament at the expense of the county : if we are cynical enough to question their public spirit, we may suppose that they had other business in view or even their pleasure. Indeed, in the Michaelmas parliament of 1318,¹ very early in the history of parliamentary representation, we find a complaint from Matthew of Crawthorne, a prominent Devon man, that his election as knight of the shire had been set aside by the sheriff. It is important to note that he had been returned to, and was actually in attendance at, this parliament to represent Exeter, a fact he does not mention in his petition, and that the wages of a citizen were two shillings a day (which he was granted) while the wages of a knight were five shillings a day. That he sought election can hardly be doubted, for he represented Exeter on three other occasions during the reign of Edward II, in 1319, 1320 and 1321, and then in 1322 was returned as knight of the shire to the parliament which met at York on 2nd May. The exchequer had migrated to that city, and it was not, perhaps, a coincidence that on 30th May Crawthorne became sheriff. He did not use his influence to secure his return to parliament during his term of office, which lasted until October, 1325, nor during a second term from December, 1330, to September, 1332 : but he represented the county again in 1328 and 1337 and Exeter in 1340.²

We cannot take Crawthorne as typical. Men in other circumstances, or perhaps not so public-spirited, might well have evaded nomination if election meant the prospect of a toilsome winter journey, or such hard riding as that imposed upon the

¹ Not 1319, as stated by Palgrave (*Parliamentary Writs*, II, iii, 734) and Stubbs (*Constitutional History* (5th ed.), III, 435). The date is fixed both by the name of the sheriff concerned, Robert Beudyn, who held office between 15th May and 29th November, 1318 (P.R.O., *List of Sheriffs*, p. 34), and by the parliament roll printed by Cole : see following note.

² Cole, *Documents illustrative of English History*, p. 16 ; Prynn, *Animadversions on Fourth Part of the Institutes*, p. 31 ; *Parliamentary Writs*, II, ii, 187, 194, 211, 222, 238, 243, 249, App. 138 ; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 34 ; *Return of Members of Parliament*, I, 87, 114, 128. For the exchequer, see Miss D. M. Broome's paper "Exchequer Migrations to York," in *Essays in Medieval History presented to T. F. Tout*, pp. 291-300.

Lancastrian knights who attended the September parliament of 1346.¹ The difficulty of persuading anyone to undertake to represent Lancashire may well lie behind the charge brought against Robert Foucher, sheriff from 16th May, 1332, to Easter, 1335, that he had sometimes returned his clerks and sometimes his kinsmen as knights of the shire, without the assent of the county court.² Between these dates writs were issued on 20th July and 20th October, 1332, 2nd January and 24th July, 1334, and 1st April, 1335, for two parliaments at Westminster and three at York.³ As it happened, the summer journeys were to Westminster: but a winter journey to York was possibly no more inviting than one to London. The sheriff was found guiltless of the charge against him; but this merely means that he did not act corruptly and not necessarily that he had not returned his clerks and kinsmen. Indeed, we must suppose that there was a colourable basis for the charge.⁴

From his frequent mention of the matter, Dr. T. F. Tout seems to have been much impressed by the case of John of Ypres, who, while holding office as controller of the king's wardrobe,

¹ This is not an isolated instance of delay in delivering the writ to the sheriff: see the cases cited by Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 418 n. 1. Parallel are the cases where an election was quashed and a fresh election ordered. Thus both knights returned for Surrey to the parliament summoned for 26th October, 1383, were excused and writs for fresh elections issued on 8th and 18th October. One of the knights returned for Hertfordshire was similarly excused, the writ for a fresh election being dated 16th October (*Lords' Reports*, IV, 707).

² K.B. 27/297, Coram Rege Roll, Trin. 8 Edward III, Rex, m. 19b: "Iuratores diuersorum wappentachiorum presentant quod . . . vbi breue domini regis venit vicecomiti ad eligendum duos milites ad parlamentum domini regis, ibi Robertus Foucher vicecomes Lancastrie toto tempore suo retornauit aliquando clericos suos aliquando alios de affinitate sua, qui non sunt electi per assensum comitatus, prout deberent ad profiscendum ad parlamenta predicta, et postea, cum huiusmodi electi ad parlamenta deferant [*sic*] breuia predicto vicecomiti pro expensis suis leuandis, ibi predictus vicecomes capit [*sic*] partem expensarum predictarum aliquando medietatem aliquando ad voluntatem suam."

³ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 413, 417-18, 424, 429, 445.

⁴ It may be noted that earlier sheriffs of Lancashire had been accused of failure to obtain the assent of the county court to the election of knights of the shire: Henry of Malton, in his return for the Easter parliament of 1319, and William Gentil, in his return for the Michaelmas parliament of 1320. In the latter case the charge was admitted. The gravamen of the complaint, however, was that others would have been content with lower wages than the knights actually selected (*Parliamentary Writs*, II, ii, 315).

was twice returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire : here was evidence, he thought, of "an additional perquisite."¹ Side by side with John of Ypres—for the case is even clearer—we can place Walter of Urswick, who went to Calais in 1383 with John of Gaunt while parliament was in session and certainly did not return from parliament to Lancashire. As we shall see, Urswick was an unusual choice, even for a nominee of the duke's. If he had been a representative of an ordinary county it is practically certain that he would never have been able to get his wages as knight of the shire, and he was, in fact, unable to obtain the usual writ of expenses : nevertheless, the duke saw to it that he was paid for the time he was absent from parliament as well as for the return journey he did not make. We cannot but conclude that the whole business was a means of finding the funds for Urswick's journey to Calais and that it emphasises the point, made, for example, by Miss Wood Legh,² that election to parliament might be a way of defraying the expenses of a journey to Westminster which the shire—and, we may add, the borough—representatives required to make for other purposes. It is just chance that we know of this incident of Walter of Urswick, and this may serve as a reminder that, when we are considering what motives actuated men to seek or evade election, our information cannot be but fragmentary and that we can only hope for signposts here and there.³ On the other hand, that men did evade election is illustrated by some of our other cases. When, as in

¹ Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, III, 234 n. 2, 268 n. 5, 276 n. 4 ; IV, 157. He was returned to the parliaments at Westminster in June, 1369, and February, 1371, and was nominated to attend the great council at Winchester in June, 1371 (*Return of Members of Parliament*, I, 182, 184, 186). He was sheriff of Lancashire from 23rd April, 1361, to Michaelmas, 1370 (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 72), an office he can hardly have discharged in person while serving as controller ; but technically he returned himself to the parliament of 1369.

² *English Historical Review*, XLVI, 374-5.

³ It is interesting to note that to this same parliament of October, 1383 there were elected for Hertfordshire, Thomas Morwell, the chamberlain of the princess of Wales, and for Surrey, James Berners, one of the knights of the king's chamber. The king excused these two men and by writs of 16th and 18th October required the election of other knights in their place (*Lords' Reports*, IV, 707). Either Morwell and Berners did not wish for "an additional perquisite," or they had reasons for keeping away from parliament or, at any rate, from the lower house.

March, 1379, the duke nominated three men to serve as knights of the shire, we must suppose that his advisers were reasonably certain of the nominees' eligibility: the fact that not one of the three was actually returned does not mean that the county court refused to assent—we have no reason to suppose that the assent of the county court was required—but that the duke's nominees were unable or unwilling to comply. Who, let us ask, were these three men—Adam of Houghton, Roger of Pilkington and William of Atherton? The first-named had already been returned as knight of the shire in 1348, 1363 and 1365: ¹ he had served as sheriff for a few days in April, 1361: ² we can hardly doubt that by 1379 he was a man of advancing years. Roger of Pilkington had been returned in 1363, 1365, 1368, 1377 and he was again to be returned in 1382 and 1384: the circumstances that prevented his acceptance of nomination in 1379 were therefore temporary. The same must be true of William of Atherton, who was unable to serve not only on this occasion but when again nominated in November, 1379: he had been returned in 1373 and was again to be returned in 1381. All three men were Lancashire landowners: ³ they had all served as knights of the shire before 1377, and the two younger men were to serve after that date. Quite clearly, their selection in 1379 had nothing unusual about it, even if the method of selection was out of the common: they were men whose names would be among the first to be mentioned, if the county court had had unrestricted choice.

Of the two men nominated in 1383, John Holcroft had served as knight of the shire ten years previously: Walter of Urswick had had a distinguished military career and occupied a high place in the duke's household; ⁴ but he had never served before and was never to serve again as knight of the shire.

¹ For these particulars and those that follow see the official *Return of Members of Parliament*, vol. 1.

² 12th-23rd April: see *List of Sheriffs*, p. 72.

³ For some particulars see W. D. Pink and A. B. Beavan, *Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire*, pp. 29, 34, 36.

⁴ S. Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 219. Note that although called "bachelor" in the duke's letter of 1384 (below, Appendix no. 5), Urswick had been knighted at Najera in 1367.

Doubtless there was difficulty in selecting at short notice at Westminster two knights to represent Lancashire, but since Urswick's approaching departure for Calais must presumably have been known, it is difficult to believe that his selection was not a "job," especially in view of the duke's demand that full wages be paid to him. But if it was a "job," it seems the only one of the kind. We do not know the circumstances in which it was decided in 1393 to put in the place of Thomas Radcliffe, who had been returned by the sheriff, Ralph of Ypres, who was nominated by the duke. But Ypres had previously served in 1378 and 1390, and Radcliffe, who had served in 1385, was to serve again in 1395. It seems necessary, therefore, to conclude that whatever was the method of selection at this period, whether the county court was asked to express its assent or not, or whether there was some form of procedure that we should nowadays regard as an election, very much the same result was likely to be achieved. The knights of the shire were drawn from a limited group of possible candidates and neither the duke nor the county court had a very wide field of choice. If the duke could not prevail upon his nominees to accept election, it is unlikely that the suitors of the county court would be able to persuade a reluctant knight to make the journey to parliament, and the sheriff must have been hard put to it sometimes to execute the writ. If this is our belief we shall not stress very strongly the conflict between authority and the county court over the choice of representatives. Complaints against individual sheriffs may be of the nature of so many charges brought against mediæval officials: accusations were never lacking against an unpopular man, who frequently had to perform duties which might require a liberal interpretation of law or custom. The petition put forward in the Good Parliament for free elections in the county court, and the obvious implication that frequently this did not obtain, seems to have been the offspring of a moment of idealism in which practical difficulties were overlooked. The king, however, replied that the knights of the shire should be elected by common assent of the county court,¹ and the first parliamentary writs of

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, II, 355, no. 186.

Richard II's reign contain a direction to this effect.¹ And although such specific instructions were thereafter omitted,² it does seem as though there was an understanding that the county court's freedom of choice—if it wished to exercise it—should be respected. For when in the writs for the Candlemas parliament of 1388 directions were given that the knights chosen should not be partisans in recent controversies, this clause was challenged and withdrawn.³ If, however, there was such an understanding, there were probably a good many occasions on which either this understanding was disregarded or the suitors of the county court had no wish to be consulted. That this was the position appears to be indicated by certain of the writs issued in connexion with the parliament that met at Westminster on 26th October, 1383. The writs to the sheriffs of 20th August made no mention of the assent of the county court. Thomas Camoys and James Berners were chosen for Surrey ; but Camoys, who was a banneret, had received a personal summons, and Berners was excused on the ground that he was a knight of the king's chamber. The sheriff, therefore, by separate writs of 8th and 18th October, was required to return others in their places : from the former we learn that Camoys (and therefore presumably Berners) had been elected with the assent of the county court. To the same parliament Thomas Morwell had been elected for Hertfordshire, and he was excused on the ground that he was the chamberlain of the princess of Wales. The writ of 16th October, requiring the sheriff to return another knight in his place, does not, however, mention election with the assent of the county court.⁴ The documents we have discussed in this paper also

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 674 : "in pleno comitatu tuo de communi assensu eiusdem." It is not obvious why the writs of 1st December, 1376 (*ibid.*, p. 671), did not contain these words.

² Stubbs, who was rarely guilty of an inaccuracy of the kind, wrote : "Under Richard II the direction to elect in full county court and by assent of the same was always inserted." This error led to others (*Constitutional History*, III, 414). In actual fact such a direction apparently reappears once only before the legislation of 1406, namely, in 1404 : see below, p. 216.

³ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 725-7.

⁴ For these writs see *ibid.*, 705-7. They reached the sheriffs before the returns were made, since these give the names of the knights in whose favour the writs of expenses were issued (C. 219/8/9). There might, therefore, be a considerable interval between the election and the return.

point in the same direction : the assent of the Lancashire county court must often have been dispensed with.

It is to be remarked that, in the years for which we have direct knowledge of the methods of choosing the knights to represent Lancashire, the chancellors of the duchy were senior clerks of the chancery who had a close connexion with parliament. Thomas Thelwall was appointed chancellor of the duchy on 17th April, 1377,¹ and was succeeded by John Scarle on 29th November, 1382.² Thelwall had been a receiver of petitions in parliament in 1376 and continued to discharge this duty until 1382 ;³ Scarle was a receiver of petitions in Michaelmas parliament of 1382 and in each successive parliament until 1397 :⁴ he acted as clerk of the parliament from November, 1384, until at least 1394,⁵ but it is with the period before he served in that capacity that we are particularly concerned. There can be no doubt, of course, that both Thelwall and Scarle were perfectly familiar with parliamentary procedure, and that there were none better equipped with the knowledge of what was permissible and what was irregular. It would be rash to suppose that they were deliberately contriving, or conniving at, methods which were contrary to the custom, if not the written law, of the constitution. Setting such a supposition aside, we must conclude that if the suitors of the county court were content to leave the selection of knights of the shire to the duke and his officials, or if they did not feel in a position to resent such a practice, then there was no reason why the king's government should insist upon the formalities of election. The methods of choice were a matter of indifference to the Crown so long as the elected knights appeared and could be presumed to have, in the words of the writ, full and sufficient power for themselves and the commonalty of the shire to perform and approve the decisions taken in parliament with the common counsel of the realm. Even these words had

¹ *Deputy Keeper's Report*, XXXII, 348 : cf. *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1374-7*, pp. 455-6.

² *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383*, I, xxiv.

³ For the extreme dates see *Rot. Parl.*, II, 321b ; III, 122b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 133a-337b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 203b-309b. He appears to have ceased to act on his appointment as keeper of the rolls in July, 1394.

become a formality : no irregularity of election would abrogate any act of parliament or enable any county to escape from taxation.

From the standpoint of modern democracy it may seem as if, in Stubbs's words, " the right of electing was not duly valued . . . the power of the sheriff, and of the crown exercised through him, was almost uncontrolled in peaceful times, and in disturbed times the whole proceeding was at the mercy of faction." ¹ Yet to speak in such terms is to make assumptions regarding constitutional theory and practice which we have no warrant for attributing to the fourteenth century. If, as has been suggested above, the field of choice was small and qualified men were often reluctant to serve, it could have mattered little, and, indeed, might well be a matter of relief, if the sheriff or the power behind the sheriff—in the case of Lancashire, the duke or the duke's council—settled the whole business by negotiation, not with the county court but with the handful of men of standing from whom it was reasonably possible to select—men who, for example, as in 1376, could act as hosts at the feast which celebrated the conclusion of the session and where the guests included the bishops and earls. ²

II.

If, however, we would obtain a just view of the manner of choosing the representatives for Lancashire under John of Gaunt, it will be well to discuss rather more generally the question of parliamentary elections at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For John of Gaunt has borne among historians a reputation for the manipulation of parliaments which, if it were grounded in fact, might cause us to regard in a sinister light his actions in connexion with Lancashire elections. It is doubtless correct to ascribe the changing attitude of the knights and their contradictory actions in different parliaments to the spirit of faction in disturbed times : but that, as Stubbs seems to have supposed, faction determined elections in the county courts is a very different question. Changes in personnel do not necessarily imply the ousting of men of one opinion and the election

¹ *Constitutional History*, III, 421.

² *Anonimale Chronicle* (ed. Galbraith), p. 94.

of men of another. Parliamentary controversies were fought out between the king and the leading magnates or between the magnates themselves. The influence of the magnates in many of the counties, and therefore upon the knights of the shire, was preponderant. How could it be otherwise when the knights were their tenants, their servants, their comrades-in-arms? Sir S. Armitage-Smith pointed out how John of Gaunt must, in this way, have acquired a powerful influence among the commons.¹ It is doubtless a mistake to talk, as he did, of a Lancastrian party, for this is to darken history by using terms with a modern connotation: and if there was a Lancastrian party, we must allow for a dozen or more other parties labelled with the name of duke or earl or baron. Our "parties" could mean no more than this, that, while the knights as a body might press for the redress of popular grievances, on acute political controversies which divided the lords themselves, not one of them would be likely to run counter to any magnate to whom he was attached by territorial or personal ties. We need not question that Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Good Parliament, was a public-spirited and able man, who thoroughly deserved his popularity, but that he would place himself in opposition to the Earl of March, whose steward he was,² is of all things the most unlikely. Of Thomas Hungerford, who was speaker in the Hilary parliament of 1377, we can say that he was equally unlikely to oppose John of Gaunt, in whose service he had long been prominent: ³ but we have no reason to suppose that, because this parliament largely undid the work of the Good Parliament, Hungerford was baser or more subservient than his predecessor in the speaker's office. Nor can it be without significance that Peter de la Mare's imprisonment in 1376 coincided with the effacement of the Earl of March, and that both the earl's return to court and de la Mare's release were manifestations of the appeasement which followed upon the accession of Richard II.⁴

¹ *John of Gaunt*, p. 137.

² *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 108; *Anonimale Chronicle* (ed. Galbraith), p. 82.

³ S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 145.

⁴ For the details see Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, III, 313, 324-5.

To suggest that the knights should have been able to provide an independent opposition to the lords appears, in regard to the circumstances of the time, to be little short of fantastic : and yet this suggestion is the suppressed premise of much of the historical discussion of the politics of late fourteenth-century parliaments. How else can we interpret, for example, Stubbs's comments on the Michaelmas parliament of 1377 that there was then " a marked consciousness of power and a freedom of action on the part of the commons unexampled except in the Good Parliament " and " a clear victory for the commons " ? ¹ The evidence will not permit us to believe that real power and the springs which determined changes of policy lay there. It is true that one chronicler, upon whose words reliance has been placed, ² asserts that, in the Lenten parliament of 1383 there was great controversy between the lords and the commons over the expedition to Flanders, and he tells of the commons' opposition to John of Gaunt and of their final victory. But another chronicler, ³ in describing the same events, speaks of disputes between earls, barons and magnates and, while he praises the constancy of the knights, to whom he gives some credit for the final decision, he does not suggest that the question was decided otherwise than as the

¹ *Constitutional History*, II, 463-5. Later writers have repeated or echoed his words : e.g. Oman, *Political History, 1377-1485*, pp. 6-9 ; Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster*, II, 112-14. Dr. Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, III, 333-8, spoke of the commons' " fidelity to the traditions of the Good Parliament " and of their satisfaction with " their success " ; but earlier (p. 305), when discussing the Good Parliament, he could say : " The old tradition of seeking baronial guidance and leadership was not yet dead, and Peter de la Mare perhaps owed his position as much to his representation of the earl of March as to his recognised wisdom, eloquence and courage."

² Monk of Evesham, *Vita Regis Ricardi II* (ed. Hearne), p. 44, cited by Stubbs (*op. cit.*, III, 568 n.), who, by a slip, transfers the passage to the Good Parliament.

³ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 84. The favour with which the commons regarded Bishop Despenser's proposals is mentioned also in the *Continuatio Eulogii* (III, 356), and by the Monk of Westminster (in Higden, *Polychronicon*, IX, 18). The latter names two knights, sons of the earl of Devon, Philip and Peter Courtenay, as being prominent among his supporters. The former represented Devon in this parliament. The latter was shortly afterwards, and possibly at this time, a knight of the king's chamber (Tout, *op. cit.*, IV, 345 ; below, p. 212 n. 4), and his advocacy of the bishop's claims was presumably unofficial : he could not have taken part in any discussion as one of the commons.

commons themselves requested, between the king and the lords. For we have unimpeachable evidence¹ that the commons disclaimed responsibility for giving advice on the conduct of the expedition, although they indicated their preference, subject to the superior wisdom of the king and the lords, for the acceptance of the proposals of the Bishop of Norwich: it is quite possible that they thought this would be the cheapest way out of the business. Chroniclers, indeed, rarely seem to have had more than a very hazy notion of parliamentary procedure and, even when they are reproducing their authorities faithfully, they rarely give such details as would enable us to fit an incident into the framework of the official record, which must necessarily be our primary authority.

We have spoken as though the opinions and actions of the commons as a body were determined by the knights of the shire—subject always to the ties which bound the great majority of them to one or other of the magnates—and in all matters of high politics this appears to be unquestionable. This was the conclusion reached by Stubbs, and any additional evidence that has come to light since he wrote is but corroborative.² Doubtless there were to be found, from time to time, men of influence among the burgesses,³ and, as we have seen, certainly as early as Edward II's reign a knight might be returned as a town representative on some occasions and as a county representative on others.⁴ There was, therefore, no sharply drawn line of division between the two classes of popular representatives. To the extent that there was a leaven of knights among the burgesses, however, it would work towards assimilating the views and actions of the two classes. There is no suggestion that the burgesses were ever disposed to take a line of their own.

This is a point which has some bearing upon the question

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III, 145-8.

² *Constitutional History*, II, 540, 648-9; III, 568-9; *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, IX, 13-14.

³ Cf. M. McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of English Boroughs during the Middle Ages*, pp. 101 ff.

⁴ Matthew of Crawthorne; above, p. 190. Another instance appears to be that of William of Slyne, who was returned for the borough of Lancaster twice in 1307 and for Lancashire in 1313, 1314, 1319 and 1324.

of the "packing" of fourteenth-century parliaments. If the opinion of the burgesses counted for little, if they were content to acquiesce in the lead given by the knights, then little purpose would be served by the most determined manipulator of parliament in meddling with borough elections. It was clearly open to John of Gaunt, for example, to insist upon the return of members from two, if not from four, Lancashire boroughs. Indeed, in 1382 the sheriffs were required by statute to return members from cities and boroughs which were wont anciently to elect representatives,¹ and, had it been worth while, the duke could have seen that the statute was respected in his county palatine. But though instructions were given for the election of burgesses, the time-honoured excuses continued to be accepted and the boroughs of Lancashire continued to be exempt from the expense of representation in parliament.

John of Gaunt, therefore, neither attempted to return borough members in his own interest, nor was there any reason why he should do so. Did he attempt to manipulate the elections of knights of the shire? For long it was believed that he had "packed" the Hilary parliament of 1377; but the source of this belief is the statement of a hostile St. Alban's chronicler that he strove to remove all those knights who in the last parliament stood for the common weal, and so far succeeded that only twelve knights who had sat in that parliament were returned on this occasion.² The number seems really to be eight: but when it is realised that this number did not differ greatly from the number of knights who on previous and subsequent occasions served in two succeeding parliaments,³ the apparent proof of the chronicler's statement falls to the ground. Nor is there any evidence that John of Gaunt's personal dependents were more numerous in the one parliament than the other.⁴ If we look for the most probable cause of the change in temper between the Good Parliament and the next, we may find it in the death of the

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III, 124, no. 16; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 25.

² *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series), p. 112.

³ See the tables constructed by Miss Wood-Legh in *English Historical Review*, XLVII, 406, and by Mr. N. B. Lewis, *ibid.*, XLVIII, 366, and the tables below, pp. 203-4.

⁴ As Colonel Wedgwood pointed out (*ibid.*, XLV, 624).

Prince of Wales : his influence withdrawn, the way was left clear for his brother.

It may be suggested that the personnel of the knights of the shire returned to the three parliaments of Easter, 1376, Hilary, 1377, and Michaelmas, 1377, affords evidence of manipulation. This last parliament, it has been said, "was undoubtedly an anti-Lancastrian parliament. A large proportion of the knights of the shire who had sat in the 'Good' Parliament, and had lost their seats in January, were returned again, and Sir Peter de la Mare was again chosen speaker."¹ Now, as we have already remarked,² the writs for the Hilary parliament of 1377 did not expressly require election in open county court with the assent of the suitors—as had been agreed upon in the Good Parliament—while the writs for the Michaelmas parliament of 1377 did, for the first and last time under Richard II, contain such a clause. Unquestionably, too, that parliament not only saw the re-election of Peter de la Mare as speaker but it saw a return to the principles of the Good Parliament. If, then, it could be shown that the shire elections produced a notably unusual result, we might have a concurrence of facts which would give support to the view that unfettered elections produced an independent and powerful "house" of commons.

It need hardly be said that a comparison between three parliaments tells us very little, and that it is only by taking a series of parliaments in similar groupings that comparisons will show whether the events of 1376 and 1377 were unusual—so far, that is, as the return of knights to successive parliaments or to the first and last of three parliaments can be supposed to reflect political changes. However, that was the evidence the St. Alban's chronicler adduced and the evidence upon which some modern writers have relied to support the view that elections were manipulated.

Without a burdensome quantity of statistics we can get a good idea of what such evidence is worth. The eight parliaments from Easter, 1376, to All Souls, 1381, will give us six groups of

¹ S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 192. (I have suppressed some capitals.)

² Above, p. 195.

three consecutive parliaments. To each of the parliaments in each group we affix the letters A, B, C, and ascertain the number of knights common to the pairs AB, AC and BC : or, in other words, we find, within the limits of the series, how many knights came to any two consecutive parliaments and how many, having come to one parliament, came also to the next but one. Group I will consist of the parliaments of (A) Easter, 1376, (B) Hilary, 1377 and (C) Michaelmas, 1377 ; Group II of those of (A) Hilary, 1377, (B) Michaelmas, 1377 and (C) Michaelmas, 1378 ; and so on. Here, then, is what this method of grouping shows :—¹

TABLE I.

I. 1376E—1377H—1377M :	AB8	AC22[23]	BC14
II. 1377H—1377M—1378M :	AB14	AC12	BC12[13]
III. 1377M—1378M—1379E :	AB12[13]	AC17[18]	BC17
IV. 1378M—1379E—1380H :	AB17	AC10	BC12
V. 1379E—1380H—1380AS :	AB12	AC19	BC14
VI. 1380H—1380AS—1381AS :	AB14	AC10	BC15

It should be noted that, since the question is one of the political colour (if it existed) of the county court, as well as of the political affiliations of the knights, those only are brought into account who were elected for the same county on more than one occasion. Thus, Thomas Hungerford, who was returned for Somerset at the Michaelmas parliament of 1378, is reckoned only under Wiltshire, for which county he was returned to four other parliaments in the series. Laurence Hauberk does not figure at all, although he was returned for Rutland at Hilary, 1377, and Easter, 1379, and for Leicester at All Souls, 1380. The figures in parenthesis show what alterations would be required if we allowed for William Boneville, who, although elected, was unable to take his seat for Devon in the Michaelmas parliament of 1377 because he was in the king's service overseas, another knight being returned in his place.² If allowance were made for

¹ The figures are based upon the *Return of Members of Parliament*, I, 193-209. The principal feast immediately preceding each parliament, and serving to date it, is shown by one of the following symbols : H = Hilary ; E = Easter ; M = Michaelmas ; AS = All Souls. My figures differ slightly from those worked out by Mr. N. B. Lewis in *English Historical Review*, XLVIII, 366, columns (d) and (e).

² *Return*, I, 197 ; *Appendix*, xv.

Hungerford's return in 1378 and Hauberk's return in 1380, the figures for AB in Group IV, AC in Groups II, IV and V, and BC in Group III would each be increased by one. These are indications of the caution which would, in any case, be necessary in drawing deductions.

For the purpose of a strict comparison we should have begun our table well before 1376, but there is an awkward gap between the Good Parliament and the next previous parliament which met in November, 1373. It is, nevertheless, instructive to observe the figures we get when we extend the table back to include this parliament and that of November, 1372 :—

1372—1373—1376E :	AB9[10]	AC11	BC13
1373—1376E—1377H :	AB13	AC9	BC8

Here it is to be noted, in particular, that no more than nine knights who were returned in 1372 sat for the same constituencies in 1373 ¹—only one more than the corresponding figure for the two parliaments of Easter, 1376, and Hilary, 1377. It is, moreover, apparent that Group V in Table I is very much like Group I. In either case, of the knights who had sat in the first parliament appreciably more were returned to the third than to the second : not only so, but whereas twenty-two knights who had sat in the Good Parliament sat also in the Michaelmas parliament of 1377, the closely similar number of nineteen knights who had sat in the Easter parliament of 1379 sat also in the All Souls parliament of the following year. Similar figures are found when we compare the personnel of the knights returned to parliaments later in the century.² But in relation to the full complement of seventy-four knights of the shire, differences of the order shown in the table cannot by themselves be held to have any significance.³ Of course, when we have arrived at this result, we have not

¹ Ten seem actually to have been elected, but Thomas of Bassingbourn, who was originally returned for Hertfordshire, was replaced by Edward fitz Simond, who is named in the writ of expenses : see *Return*, I, 191.

² As shown by Mr. Lewis's table, *loc. cit.* : see also below, p. 208.

³ The tables prepared by Miss Wood-Legh showing the attendance of knights at the parliaments of Edward III are not directly comparable with the above, but they display similar differences (*English Historical Review*, XLVII, 398-413).

disproved the allegation of manipulated elections : we have done no more than to show that the suggested evidence is of no value for deciding that particular problem.¹

We reach the conclusion, therefore, that it does not seem possible to deduce from the figures and known facts that there was any marked change in the political allegiance of the knights of the shire in the two parliaments of 1377. While it may be tempting to suggest that the form of writ for the Hilary parliament was determined by the influence of John of Gaunt and that, when he had become less powerful on the accession of Richard II, the writs for the Michaelmas parliament were in the form settled in the Good Parliament, yet we have evidence neither that the duke did exert his influence in this matter nor that the change in the form of writ appreciably affected the shire elections. The clue to the reversals of policy from parliament to parliament must be sought elsewhere. Having said so much, we must not leave the impression either that the influence of the magnates both in the county courts and upon the knights in parliament was not very great or that, great as was the power in parliament of the more powerful lords, it was unrestrained. Their dependents, who were largely represented among the knights, would not be likely to run counter to them upon high issues, but this does not mean that the influence of the magnates was unlimited for good or ill. The knights of the shire were, for the most part, self-respecting country gentlemen, of considerable administrative experience, and with a standard of honour which would not permit them to be made mere tools of faction. If they were credulous and willing to be led, their leaders must not be obviously in the wrong, and hence at every crisis use was made of constitutional forms, and elaborate explanations and justifications of policy were considered necessary. And though it may seem ironical to speak of restraint when contemplating the

¹ There is some indication that the numbers under AC tend to vary inversely as the numbers under AB : i.e. knights who had served in two successive parliaments tended to let an interval elapse before consenting to serve in another, while others, having served in one parliament, were not prepared to serve in the next, but only after an interval. Though this is possible, the figures do not permit of conclusions of the kind, and a different kind of table would need to be constructed to deal with this problem.

plots and repressions, the violence and bloodshed, of the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, yet it is plain enough that the principal actors had a care for the opinion of the commons and sought the support of the knights.¹ We may discount the charges made equally against Richard II and Henry IV, that they sought to secure the return of knights favourable to themselves, but the fact that the charges were made shows that the idea of manipulating the commons was in the air, and it may be instructive to enquire whether there is evidence which will support the charges. For what was possible to kings was possible also to the magnates: "the county court," Stubbs thought, "was peculiarly amenable to manipulation, not only by the king but by the great lords of the shire."²

The charges against Richard II centre round the September parliament of 1397. It is true that a chronicler asserts that, before the Merciless Parliament met at Candlemas, 1388, the king had attempted to secure that only those knights should be returned whom he and his council should choose:³ but this story seems plainly to be based upon the writs which directed the sheriffs to exclude partisans. In any case, whatever the king

¹ Some suggestions regarding the methods employed in influencing opinion will be found in Dr. Tout's paper, "The English Parliament and Public Opinion, 1376-1388" in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne*, pp. 545-62. A more striking example, perhaps, is the circulation of the "Record and Process" of the deposition of Richard II, as to which see *English Historical Review*, LII, 40-41. Unless "public opinion" is defined, any discussion of its influence remains in the air. For this reason I can attach no obvious meaning to the suggestion made by Mr. N. B. Lewis, in his valuable paper on "Re-election to Parliament in the reign of Richard II," that "without continuity of membership, public opinion, if sufficiently aroused, could secure some degree of continuity" in policy (*English Historical Review*, XLVIII, 388). That it was the knights whose support was considered of value is shown by the unanimity with which allegations of manipulated elections refer to the county courts, not to the boroughs. Hardyng's statement (*Chronicle* (ed. Ellis), pp. 353-354 n.) that he was told by the earl of Northumberland († 1408) that John of Gaunt sought the support of the knights to his claim to be recognised as heir-apparent of Richard II and was refused, is too dubious to be used as evidence: but it probably reflects the position at the time he was writing, c. 1463-64.

² *Constitutional History* (4th ed.), II, 650.

³ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 161. The same story is copied into the *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 379, and by the Monk of Evesham, *Vita Regis Ricardi II* (ed. Hearne), p. 85.

may have done to promote moderation or his own interests, the result showed that he was completely unsuccessful, and we could not expect to learn anything from a scrutiny of the personnel of the commons. About the September parliament of 1397 we have something much more definite. One of the accusations against Richard on the occasion of his deposition was that he had frequently instructed the sheriffs to return certain named men as knights of the shire, and that he had induced these knights by threats and gifts to agree to proposals harmful to the realm and most burdensome to the people. The examples given—the grant of the custom of wool for the king's life and another subsidy for a term of years—point plainly to the happenings in the adjourned session at Shrewsbury in January, 1398.¹ The king's accusers had probably very little evidence for the rest of their charge.

It is in this parliament, too, that the doomed Earl of Arundel made his bitter retort to the speaker of the commons: "Where are those true commons . . . ? The true commons of the realm are not here."² Apart from these contemporary allegations of "packing," there is supporting evidence, so it has been supposed, in the change in the personnel of the knights.³ So far as this evidence is concerned, we can apply the same test as in the

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III, 420, no. 36. For the grants at Shrewsbury, see *ibid.*, p. 368, no. 75. The grant of three half-subsidies at six-monthly intervals does not, however, seem to have been very extraordinary: the wool subsidy was a very different matter.

² Monk of Evesham, *Vita Regis Ricardi II*, p. 137; *Chronicon Adaë de Usk*, p. 14; cf. *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, in Trokelowe (Rolls Series), pp. 214-15.

³ Cf. Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV, 23 n.: "the change in the personnel of the knights of the shire, and the accusation of packing made by Nottingham and others, makes probable the statement of *Ann. Ric.*, p. 209, that the knights of the shires 'non fuerunt electi per communitatem, prout mos exigit, sed per regiam voluntatem.'" (I do not understand the reference to Nottingham.) Stubbs has a note (*Constitutional History*, II, 519) that "the two parliaments of 1397 contain 47 names in common," in elucidation apparently of the manner in which the "king's agents" managed the commons: but occasional figures of this kind are not really explanatory, and this particular figure seems to be wrong. Statistics of the attendance of town representatives are difficult to compile, since the material is fragmentary, and, in any case, they would not have the same value in the present connexion as statistics relating to the knights: for such figures as are available see *English Historical Review*, XLVIII, 369.

case of the Hilary parliament of 1377. Constructing a similar table to cover the six parliaments from Hilary, 1394, to Hilary, 1401, the result is as follows :—

TABLE II (a).

I. 1394H—1395H—1397H :	AB13	AC22	BC15
II. 1395H—1397H—1397 Sept. :	AB15	AC12	BC19
III. 1397H—1397 Sept.—1399M :	AB19	AC18	BC3
IV. 1397 Sept.—1399M—1401H :	AB3	AC11	BC12

Since the September parliament of 1397 contained nineteen knights who had served for the same constituencies in the previous Hilary parliament, it cannot be said that there was an unusually large change in personnel—the contrary, indeed, might well be maintained; and a comparison with the parliament of Hilary, 1395, reveals no extraordinary falling-off in the number of knights who, having sat in one parliament, sat again in the next but one, as will be apparent by a glance at the table for the parliaments from 1376 to 1381,¹ and the table given below which carries on the series to the year 1404.² The supposed evidence for the “packing” of the September parliament of 1397 breaks down, therefore, on examination.³

¹ Above, p. 203.

² Below, p. 216.

³ I feel a good deal of doubt about the evidence for Richard's tampering with the appointment of sheriffs, which, if established, might to some extent corroborate the charge that county elections were manipulated. Dr. Tout collected some particulars for the period 1397-99 (*op. cit.*, IV, 43-4), but their significance cannot be appreciated without comparative figures for other periods. The charge of tampering with sheriffs' appointments was brought equally against Henry IV (*Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Series), II, 305: also in Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 231). The influence of the sheriff on parliamentary elections is, in any case, difficult to assess. We must distinguish between occasions, probably very numerous, when the county court was indifferent and occasions when the county court was interested in elections. Charges against the sheriff of having acted contrary to the wishes of the county court appear to be more numerous in Lancashire than elsewhere (above, pp. 179, 191), but there is no suggestion of a political motive. The nearest we get to such a charge is in a petition addressed by the borough of Shaftesbury to the king, lords and commons in the Salisbury parliament of April, 1384. In this petition it is alleged that the sheriff of Dorset substituted another man for one of the elected burgesses, on the ground that the man of the town's choice would work for the king's profit and advantage in parliament (C. 219/8/10: printed by Prynne, *Register of Parliamentary Writs*, III, 286-7). This petition would, however,

There is, however, evidence of another kind for the influence of the king on the knights of the shire in this parliament. It has been pointed out that the six members of the commons, all knights of the shire, who were appointed members of the parliamentary commission of 1398, held some kind of office at court, or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say, were in the king's pay.¹ This commission was empowered, in effect, to exercise the functions of parliament while no parliament was sitting, and its membership was so arranged as to secure its willing co-operation with the king. There can be no room for doubt that these men had been won over to the king's side: whether the means used should be described as fair or foul doubtless depended upon the view one took of the rightness of his cause. The six knights included John Bushy, the speaker, and Henry Green, who, with William Bagot, were universally recognised as the king's principal agents in the commons. It is likely that detailed investigation would reveal that other knights of the shire were in the king's pay. Two examples are suggestive. Nicholas Dagworth was in receipt of a large pension amounting to a hundred marks a year,² and Thomas Blount of a pension of forty pounds:³ both of them had served a period

be slender reason for believing either that the sheriff acted in direct opposition to the king or that he was as high-handed in county elections as he was said to have been in returning borough representatives. Petitions pointing to such irregularities as this are very few, and their infrequency suggests that irregularities of the kind were themselves infrequent. Miss McKisack (*Representation of English Boroughs*, p. 40) takes a different view, and suggests that there was "a long story of abuse" which called for remedial legislation. The difficulty, however, is to find the evidence. It seems, in fact, to have been by no means unusual to legislate in response to complaints based upon isolated grievances. Much depended upon whether the government was interested in maintaining the system out of which the grievances arose.

¹ Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV, 31 n. 1, 38.

² *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1377-81*, p. 384; *1381-85*, p. 370; *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1396-99*, p. 190. Dagworth was a man with a distinguished administrative and diplomatic career, in Ireland and elsewhere: he had been singled out for attack in the Merciless Parliament.

³ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1385-89*, pp. 37, 39. For some account of him see Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, I, 92-3; III, 302 n. He held lands in Wiltshire and Hampshire (Inquisitions Post Mortem 1 Hen. IV, no 59 (C. 137/14)). Those he held in Oxfordshire were leased from Thomas Blount the elder, apparently his father, the link being supplied by Hugh Blount, who was

as knights of the king's chamber, although they seem not to have been holding office in 1397.¹

The careers of these men show, however, how unstable were political connexions at this time. We must remember that it was, as Dr. Tout said, "easy in the fourteenth century to serve two masters,"² and much would depend upon whether the two masters were in accord. Bushy, Green and Bagot had all been opposed to the king in 1388. Green had been connected with John of Gaunt; Bagot with both John of Gaunt and Thomas Mowbray. Bushy had been retained by the king as early as 1391, Green and Bagot not, apparently, until 1397. All three men had had considerable parliamentary experience before entering the king's service.³ Of the other four knights who served with Bushy and Green on the parliamentary commission, only one, John Russell, had had parliamentary experience before 1397—that is, if he is identifiable with the John Russell who was returned for Worcestershire in 1378 and 1379.⁴ Russell appears to have served the king for many years and Richard Chelmick for some considerable time;⁵ but Robert Tey and John Golafre may have been newcomers to his service.⁶

At the coming of Bolingbroke, Bushy and Green paid with their lives for their loyalty to Richard; Chelmick was already

brother and heir of Thomas the younger and son of Thomas the elder (Inq. P. M. as above; *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, pp. 194, 416). It is possibly the elder Thomas Blount who was knight of the shire for Oxford in 1381 and 1382. In 1397 Thomas Blount (presumably the younger) sat for Wiltshire.

¹ See below, p. 212.

² *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

⁴ This was his constituency in 1397 and, despite the long interval, the identity is practically certain. Russell was elderly in 1397; for his career, see *ibid.*, p. 38, and the references given below.

⁵ Chelmick (spelled in a variety of ways) seems to have come from the place of that name in Shropshire: he sat for that county in 1397. He had grants from February, 1390, onwards, but seems to have been in the king's service some time before: see *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1388-92, p. 189; 1391-96, p. 472; 1396-99, p. 330.

⁶ The Robert Tey who sat for Essex in 1371 and 1376 was the father of the Robert Tey who sat for the county in 1397 and 1401: cf. *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1381-85, p. 587. John Golafre who sat for Oxford in 1397 seems to be identifiable with the knight of the shire for Berks in 1401.

dead ;¹ but the other members of the parliamentary commission did not find the change of allegiance difficult. Tey and Golafre went over immediately to the other side,² and both were returned to the Hilary parliament of 1401. Not only was Russell undisturbed, he had restored to him the custody of Deerhurst priory, of which he had recently been deprived under Richard :³ he seems, however, to have been by this time aged and infirm and he did not serve again in parliament, although he was placed on the commission of the peace for Worcestershire in 1399 and 1400.⁴

Of the three knights we have mentioned who were not on the parliamentary commission, Bagot, one of the most disliked of Richard's supporters, after a short interval made his peace with Henry IV (whom, as Earl of Derby, he had served), and reappeared in parliament.⁵ Nicholas Dagworth had his pension promptly confirmed by the new king, and, since we hear very little more of him for the short while he was to live, he was presumably reconciled to the régime.⁶ Thomas Blount also had his pension confirmed to him,⁷ but within a few weeks he was conspiring against the king and lost his life for the cause of Richard II.

At this point it may be well to make it plain that such evidence as we have indicates that personal service at court did not make it more likely that a knight would be elected to parliament but seems rather to have furnished an excuse for evading service. Take, for example, the cases of Thomas Morwell and James Berners, who had been chosen to serve for Hertford and Surrey

¹ Before the end of August, 1398 : see *Cal. of Fine Rolls, 1391-99*, p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, 1399-1405, pp. 1-2 ; *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 84. Tey had, at least, made preparations to accompany Richard to Ireland (*ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 554).

³ *Ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 71 ; 1396-99, p. 589 ; 1399-1401, p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 566. He died in 1405, apparently at an advanced age : see *Victoria County History, Worcester*, IV, 204. His infirmity had been the excuse for depriving him of the custody of Deerhurst. It is difficult to reconcile the facts and the chronicler's suggestion that Russell was an active member of the council of regency in 1399 (*Annales Ricardi Secundi*, pp. 243-4).

⁵ Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, IV, 158 n., 184.

⁶ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 35. He was dead before 10 January, 1402 : see *ibid.*, 1401-05, p. 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 43.

in the parliament summoned to meet on 26th October, 1383. Both were excused—Morwell because he was chamberlain of the Princess of Wales, and Berners because he was one of the knights of the king's chamber.¹ There appear, in fact, to be only two instances where we can be certain that a knight of the shire was elected and took his seat while serving as a knight of the chamber: James Berners in the Michaelmas parliament of 1386,² and Philip de la Vache in the Candlemas parliament of 1388.³ Although there are half-a-dozen other knights of the shire during Richard's reign who served for some period as chamber knights, their election to parliament seems to have taken place either before or after their period of service.⁴ Most of the chamber knights were never elected to parliament at all.⁵ So far, then, as it goes, this evidence suggests not only that service in the king's chamber was normally incompatible with election, but that the king made no effort to secure the return of his personal dependents as knights of the shire.

In every parliament we should expect the knights of the shire to include a certain number of king's knights and esquires as well as a certain number of men more or less closely attached to every outstanding magnate. Such a result was the inevitable outcome of the structure of society in the fourteenth century. But to be designated a king's knight did not necessarily signify a close personal connexion with the king's person; and allegiance, whether to the king or to one of the great magnates, was far from

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 707: above p. 195. Morwell had previously sat in the All Souls parliament of 1381 (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1381-85, p. 107).

² *Ibid.*, 1385-89, p. 299. For list of knights and periods of service see Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV, 344-6; VI, 129. The list is not necessarily complete and there is uncertainty as to the beginning and end of the periods of service. The reference in the previous note, for example, which shows that Berners was in office in 1383, escaped Dr. Tout.

³ *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 495.

⁴ Richard Abberbury, Oxford, 1386; John Beauchamp, Worcester, 1377, 1380 (both); Thomas Blount, Wilts, 1397 (see above, p. 210 n.); Peter Courtenay, Somerset, 1381, 1382; Nicholas Dagworth, Norfolk, 1397; William Neville, Notts, 1378, 1394.

⁵ Thomas Morieux sat for Suffolk and Norfolk, and Thomas Peyteveyn for Hereford under Edward III. None of the other known chamber knights, to the number of nineteen, seems identifiable with any knight of the shire.

exclusive.¹ Many a knight in parliament must have been concerned not to commit himself and, above all, not to take a prominent part in the quarrels of the mighty. It has been remarked that, although a number of king's knights were returned to the Michaelmas parliament of 1386, there is no evidence that a single voice among them was raised in favour of the king's friend and chancellor, Michael de la Pole, who was impeached on a series of flimsy and trumped-up charges: indeed, one of the king's knights, Edward Dallingridge, seems to have incautiously identified himself with the king's opponents.² Where the sympathies of the king's knights really lay, how far they were dependent upon the magnates who were critical of the king and the court circle, whether inclinations and interests marched together or were in conflict, these things we could never hope to know or to guess, except very partially. So far, however, as the political attitude of the knights as a body is concerned, the lesson of this parliament, as well as of the Merciless Parliament, appears to be very much the same as the lesson of the parliament of 1397-98, to which we may now return.

The mere identification of knights of the shire with king's knights or dependents of John of Gaunt or of some other duke or earl is not likely to throw light upon the "packing" of parliament. That rewards and persuasions were used by the king in 1397 more lavishly than of wont, with the deliberate intention of obtaining support for his political designs, we may believe, although the extent was probably greatly exaggerated. It is possible that men of some distinction, like Dagworth and Blount, who were also well affected towards the king, were persuaded to stand for election which otherwise they might have desired to avoid: but it cannot be said that these men were not well qualified or that the county court would not gladly assent to their

¹ Cf. Tout, *op. cit.*, III, 402, n. 5. It may be remarked, in this connexion, that Thomas Morieux, the chamber knight mentioned in the preceding note, was more closely attached to John of Gaunt than to the king (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 460-2). He was a soldier of long experience, and his career would alone cast doubt upon the assertion that the chamber knights were "military only in name" (Tout, *op. cit.*, IV, 342). This kind of monastic scandal, which Dr. Tout appears to have taken seriously, seems worthless.

² Tout, *op. cit.*, III, 413, n. 3.

selection. For the deliberate manipulation of elections, and especially of the wholesale intrusion of knights devoted to Richard's interest, not only does the evidence seem wanting but such facts as we have tend to disprove the allegation. What is noteworthy about the parliament of 1397-98 is the number of great nobles who, from whatever motive, stood with the king. From John of Gaunt downwards, every lord of superior rank with three exceptions,¹ had either taken part in the condemnation of Arundel and Warwick or had been placed upon the parliamentary commission. What wonder, therefore, if there were no opposition among the commons to the activities of the king's agents: there could be no question of divided allegiance. Whether the subservience of the lords was in any way secured by the display of armed force,² the commons would need no such inducement if the lords were of one mind, nor would they have needed, it may be thought, any wide distribution of gifts or threats.

In the face of such a parliament Arundel's retort to Bushy is understandable without resorting to the explanation that the king had "packed" the commons. Bushy had changed sides: in Arundel's view he had been bought by the king. With him stood Green and Bagot, more recently received into royal favour, who had also changed sides. The knights of the shire, who were the recognised leaders of the commons, stood now, with the dukes and earls, by the side of the king. There was no one there who would protest against the travesty of judicial forms upon which the king had determined. Arundel's pardon, Bushy told him, had been revoked by the king, the lords "and us, the true commons." Hence the retort to Bushy that he had ever been false, to those with him that they had come there to act untruly—"the true commons of the realm are not here."³ The king's triumph in 1397 was assured because he had secured

¹ The Earls of Devon, Oxford and Westmorland. There was no Earl of Suffolk to summon; the judgment against Michael de la Pole was reversed in the second session of this parliament, and restoration was granted to his son apparently from Easter, 1398 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 359, 411; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 105; *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1396-99*, p. 359; *Cal. of Close Rolls, 1396-99*, p. 336).

² Cf. Tout, *op. cit.*, IV, 23-4.

³ Above, p. 207.

the co-operation of the overwhelming majority of the lords and could, in consequence, count upon the co-operation of the commons. Ten years before, the king had had few friends among the lords, and then, it is alleged, he had attempted by the agency of the sheriffs to manipulate county elections. To the sheriffs, the reply is attributed that the commons supported the lords and that they wished to retain the established procedure by which the knights were chosen by the commonalty.¹ The reply is doubtless apocryphal, but it reflects the obvious truth that even the king could not influence elections if he wished to strengthen himself in a quarrel with the magnates which he was not certain to win.

As we have said, charges were made against Henry IV in very much the same terms as against Richard II, and it may be helpful to consider briefly whether Henry's position was any different from his predecessor's and whether he had greater success in influencing elections or manipulating the commons.

The charge that Henry had influenced, through his supporters, the elections of knights of the shire was made by the Percies in 1403² and echoed by Archbishop Scrope in 1405, and this was coupled with the accusation that free speech was not permitted in parliament.³ Some point to Scrope's allegations was given by the writs for the Coventry parliament of October, 1404, which excluded not only sheriffs but lawyers from election.⁴ This restriction may have been the more emphatic because the writs for the previous parliament, that which met at Westminster on the morrow of Hilary, had expressly provided

¹ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 161, and other references as above, p. 206, n. 3.

² Hardyng, *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis), p. 353 n. The passage should apparently read: "tu subdole et contra legem Anglie tuis fautoribus scripsisti quam pluries in quolibet comitatu Anglie ad eligendos tales milites pro quolibet parlamento qui tibi placuerint, sic quod in parliamentis tuis nullam iusticiam contra voluntatem tuam in hiis querelis nostris nunc motis non potuimus habere . . ."

³ *Continuatio Eulogii*, III, 406; *Annales Henrici Quarti* in Trokelowe, p. 403; *Historians of the Church of York*, II, 305; Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 231.

⁴ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 792.

that the choice of the knights was to be made with the assent of the county court.¹ This, by the way, was the only occasion in the reign when such a form of words was used and was perhaps the outcome of the Percies' allegation of the king's undue influence in county elections, just as the legislation of 1406, which henceforward determined the form of the writ to the sheriff, may have been influenced by Scrope's charges. The petition of the commons in 1406, and, in consequence, the preamble of the statute, admit, in terms, the existence of irregularities.²

Whatever irregularities there may have been, we get no indication of their existence from an examination of the returns to the early parliaments of Henry IV. If we continue, until the Unlearned Parliament of Michaelmas, 1404, the table given above for the parliaments from 1394 to 1401, this is what we find :—³

TABLE II (b).

IV. 1397 Sept.—1399M—1401H :	AB3	AC11	BC12
V. 1399M—1401H—1402M :	AB12	AC12	BC13
VI. 1401H—1402M—1404H :	AB13	AC14	BC10
VII. 1402M—1404H—1404M :	AB10	AC11	BC10

It may be repeated that the table is based upon the return of knights for the same county and therefore takes no account of such returns as that of William Boneville for Somerset at Michaelmas, 1399, although he was returned for Devon in 1397 and 1402, and of Robert James, who was returned for Bucking-

¹ *Lords' Reports*, IV, 789 : see above, p. 195. The commons complained in this parliament of an irregularity in the Rutland election and the lords quashed the sheriff's return, so far as concerned one knight, and directed that another should be returned. The circumstances are not explained, but something more than a simple election dispute seems to lie behind the entry in the parliament roll (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 530 (no. 38)). Thomas Thorp, the knight who claimed to have been elected "en plein countee" but was not returned by the sheriff (John Arblaster), was not only recognised as duly elected but was immediately appointed sheriff in place of Arblaster who was dismissed (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 112). On the occasion of the October parliament, Thorp was sheriff and therefore incapacitated from serving as knight of the shire.

² *Rot. Parl.*, III, 601, no. 139 ; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 156.

³ The parliament summoned for Hilary, 1402 (*Lords' Reports*, IV, 776-8) is entirely omitted, since it is now known that it was countermanded : see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, XI, 158-60.

hamshire at Michaelmas, 1404, having previously been returned for Berkshire. A table based upon the personnel of the knights, without regard to their constituencies, would show somewhat higher figures, but the general relation between the several groups would probably not be materially different.

What seems apparent is the falling-off in the number of knights who sat for the same constituency in two parliaments out of three, but this may well be connected with the growing length of the parliamentary session.¹ The exclusion of lawyers from the Unlearned Parliament has left no mark upon the table. And it is evident that Henry IV, however much he may have desired to manipulate elections, did not succeed—if he tried—in creating a solid *bloc* of supporters sitting in parliament after parliament. While this is not absolute disproof of the allegations against the king, it goes far to show that any success he had was very limited. To maintain a disciplined royalist following among the commons would become, presumably, more and more difficult in the degree to which the personnel of the knights of the shire changed between parliament and parliament.

Whatever influences may have been brought to bear upon county elections, modern historians have perceived a rare initiative on the part of the commons, at least during the critical early years of Henry's reign, the period when, by apparently the consensus of contemporary opinion, irregularities were at their height. "Never before and never again for more than two hundred years," said Stubbs, "were the commons so strong as they were under Henry IV," and such views have continued to

¹ Since the Merciless Parliament of 1388, which met for two sessions of 47 and 53 days, there had been few long sessions under Richard II. The number of days of attendance of the commons from September, 1388, to Hilary, 1397, were : 39, 45, 22, 30, 32, 39, 20, 22. The Parliament which met at Westminster on 17th September, 1397, sat for 13 days and then adjourned until 27th January, 1398, at Shrewsbury, where the commons attended for 5 days. Even if we reckon in this adjournment of 58 days between the two sessions of this parliament, the average duration of the attendance of the commons in 9 parliaments is 36 days : omitting that parliament altogether, the average of the remaining 8 is 30 days. The first five parliaments of Henry IV involved attendances of 51, 50, 57, 67 and 39 days : in the 51 days of the Michaelmas parliament of 1399 attendance is reckoned from 30th September, as in the writs of expenses (cf. *English Historical Review*, LII, 46).

be held.¹ Yet how are we to reconcile the commons' "aggressive policy" ² not only with manipulated elections at the time but also with the later feebleness of the commons, when freedom of choice was at least nominally secured to the county court, and when frequent legislation was passed to secure the proper conduct of elections? ³ The answer seems to be that the strength of the commons in parliament was not their own but the lords', and that, however divided the magnates might be, they were stronger than the king.⁴ That the accession of Henry IV brought any change in the political structure of the country is as improbable as that the lords lost any part of their influence in those parts of the country where their territorial interests lay and consequently upon the knights of the shire. There is no such discontinuity between the reigns of Richard II and his successor, however marked was the difference in the personality of the two kings.

Our knowledge of Lancastrian elections under John of Gaunt throws a light at large upon the contemporary attitude of the magnates towards parliamentary elections. None but he had his opportunities, but none would have acted differently, given those opportunities. Nor is it to be supposed that the exceptional circumstances of Lancashire produced results notably different from those in other counties. The indentures for the elections in Yorkshire printed by Prynne ⁵ make it clear that there, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the choice of the knights of the shire was entirely determined by "the attorneys of the great lords of the franchises."⁶ Though the frankness with which the fact is recorded is out of the ordinary, there is no reason for supposing that the usage in Yorkshire, as in Lancashire, was in itself unusual.

To pursue the general history of parliamentary elections would take us much farther than is possible in a paper such as this, and into a discussion where documents are few and conjecture easy. It is something to have added to the number of

¹ *Constitutional History*, III, 73. For a recent view see Mr. K. B. McFarlane's account of Henry IV's parliaments in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, 368-79.

² The phrase is Mr. McFarlane's.

³ For later legislation see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 264-6, 426-7.

⁴ Wylie seems to have approached this conclusion (*England under Henry IV*, I, 401).

⁵ *Register of Parliamentary Writs*, III, 152-4.

⁶ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 424.

available documents which throw light on the actual methods of election employed in the fourteenth century. It may have been useful, also, to bring to the test of figures mediæval allegations of corruption which have earned credit not necessarily their due.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

I.

*Signet letter from John of Gaunt to the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,
5th March, 1379. P.L. 3/1/123.*

Depar le roy de Castille et de Leon, duc de Lancastre.

Treschier et bien ame. Pur ce qe nous seumes commandez et chargez par nostre tresredoute seigneur le roy dordeigner deux chivalers ables et suffissantz deinz nostre duchee de Lancastre, et de chescune citee deux citezeins et de chescun burgh deux burgeys deinz meisme nostre duchee, pur estre a Westmouster a la quinzezeisme de Pasque proschein auenir en la parlement que as ditz iour et lieu y serra tenuz, vous mandons qe vous chargez, par brief souz nostre seal, monsire Adam de Hoghtone et monsire Roger de Pylkyngtone ou monsire William de Athyrtone pur estre a meisme le parlement a le iour suisdit, et endroit des ditz citezeins et burgeys vous mandons qe vous ordeignez, et par brief les chargez, tielx come vous semblera qe mieulz soit affaire pur estre a le dit parlement as iour et lieu suisditz. Et ce ne laissez. Et nostre Seignur vous garde. Done souz le signet de nostre anel a Doncastre le v. iour de Mars.

Endorsed :—

A nostre tresame clerc sire Thomas Thelwal nostre chancellor de Lancastre.

II.

*Privy-seal letter from John of Gaunt to the Sheriff of Lancashire,
17th November, 1379. D.L. 42/14, fo. 18b.*

Pur faire garnir monsire Iohan Butiller et monsire William de Athertone destre au prochein parlement.

Iohan etcetera a nostre cher et bien ame monsire Nicole de Haryngtone, nostre visconte de Lancastre, saluz. Porce qe nous auons esluz noz treschers et bien amez bachelers monsire Iohan Buttiller et monsire William de Athertone pur bons et suffissantz destre au prochein parlement entre autres pur nostre dite duchee, a y treter et faire ce qe a eux attient, selonc leffect du brief desouz le grant seal nostre seigneur le roy a nous ent directe, vous mandons qe les auantditz monsire Iohan et monsire William par nous esluz, come dit est, acceptez et receuiez pur la dite cause, et les facez duement garnir destre entre autres au dit parlement a Westmouster, le lundy prochein apres le fest de saint Hiller prochein venant, de y faire ce qe a eux appartient en ce cas. Et outre ce vous mandons qe du brief quel nous vous enuoiasmes nadgaires desouz nostre grant seal pur

la cause susdite, facez faire bone et due execucione selonc le purport dicel, si que defaute ne lachesse ne soit en vous trouez de riens qe a vostre office appent celle partie. Et ce ne lessez. Done etcetera a Newerk le xvij^e iour de Nouembre lan etcetera tierz.

III.

*Privy-seal letter from John of Gaunt to the sheriff of Lancashire,
28th September, 1380. D.L. 42/14, fo. 37b.*

Pur monsire Iohan Buttiller et monsire Thomas Southworthe destre a parlement.

Iohan etcetera a nostre trescher et bien ame monsire Nichol de Haryngtone, nostre visconte de Lancastre, saluz. Nous vous enuoions closez deinz cestes vn brief quel nous vynt desouz le grande seal de nostre tres redoute seigneur le roy, mandantz qe, vieue le dit brief et le tenour et le purport dicelle bien entenduz, facez faire bone, due et hastiue execucion de la matire comprise en ycelle brief, selonc leffect et purport de meisme le brief, parensi qe monsire Iohan Buttiller et monsire Thomas de Southworthe soient esliz pur les chiualers du contee susdite. Et ce ne lessez. Done a Euerwyk le xxviii iour de Septembre lan etcetera quart.

IV.

*Privy-seal letter from John of Gaunt to the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,
1st September, 1383. P.L. 3/1/80.*

Iohan par la grace de Dieu roy de Castille et de Leon, duc de Lancastre, a nostre cher et bien ame clerc sire Iohan Skarle, nostre chancellor deinz nostre duchee de Lancastre, [saluz]. Come nostre tresredoute seigneur le roy, par brief desouz son grant seal, nous ad enuoiez pur enuoier a cest son prochain parlement a tenir a Westmoustier le lundy prochain auant la feste de To[us Seintz] prochain auenir, deux chiualers de nostre dite duchee et deux burgeys de chescun burgh deinz meisme nostre duchee, sicome pleinement apiert par brief nostre [seigneur le] roy susdit, le quel nous vous enuoions close deinz cestes, mandantz qe, maintenant vieue mesme le brief, facez ent faire noz lettres desouz nostre grant seal [estean en vostre garde, et] volons qe noz dites lettres soient de tieux date et lieu come nous vsons deinz nostre duchee susdite. Et cestes noz lettres vous en serront garrant. Done souz nostre pr[iue seal] Banbery le primer iour de Septembre lan du regne nostre tresredoute seigneur le roy Richard second puis le conquest septisme.

Et memorandum quod ista littera vna cum breui de parlamento incluso liberata fuit predicto Iohanni de Scarle vicesimo primo die Octobris per Iohannem Holcroft n[uncium in magna] aula Westmonasterii. Et quia dictum breue propter breuitatem temporis exequi non potuit, nunciante Thoma de Hungreforde et insuper de sp[eciali] precepto ipsius regis et ducis, retornati fuerint milites de parlamento pro communitate ducatus Lancastrie Walterus Vrswyk chiualer et Iohannes Holcro[ft].

V.

*Privy-seal letter from John of Gaunt to the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,
5th October, 1384. P.L. 3/1/62.*

Iohan par la grace de Dieu roy de Castille et de Leon, duc de Lancastre, a nostre treschier et bien ame clerc sire Iohan Scarle, nostre chancellor dedeinz nostre duchee de Lancastre, saluz. Porce qe al darreyn parlement tenuz a Westmoustier nostre treschier bacheler monsire Wauter Vrswyk estoit illoeqes ordenez et constitut vn des chiualers pur nostre duchee de Lancastre et deuant qe lauandit parlement estoit fynyz le dit monsire Wauter, par especiale congie pris de nostre tresredoubte seignur le roy, soy departist dilloeqes, alant ouesque nous et en nostre compaignie as parties de Cales en la seruice nostre tresredoubte seignur susdit, par quele encheson ses coustages du chiualer accustumez en ce cas lui sont adieriere et detenuz pur tout le temps du dit parlement. Si vous mandons qe maytenant, vieues cestes, facez faire vn brief desouz nostre grant seel esteant en vostre garde en due forme direct a nostre viscounte dedeinz nostre duchee desusdit, lui comandant de faire leuer et paier au dit monsire Wauter ses coustages susditz pur tout le temps de lauandit parlement, en tiele manere come estoit paieiz a celui qi estoit son compaignoun associe pur meisme le parlement et come soloit estre accustumez en tiel cas en temps passez. Et cestes noz lettres vous ent serront garant. Done souz nostre priue seel a nostre chastel de Hertford le quinte iour Doctobre lan du regne nostre tresredoubte seignur le roy Richard seconde puis la conquest oytisme.

VI.

*Privy-seal letter from John of Gaunt to the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,
24th March, 1384. P.L. 3/1/72.*

Iohan par la grace de Dieu roy de Castille et de Leon, duc de Lancastre, a nostre treschier et tresame clerc sire Iohan Scarle, chancellor deinz nostre duchee de Lancastre, saluz. Nous vous enuoions close deinz cestes vn brief a nous directe par nostre tresredoute seignur le roy, mandantz qe, vieue et bien entendue tout la matiere comprise en ycelle, mayntenant facez eslire deinz nostre dite duchee deux chiualers des plus sages et plus suffiseantz, et aussi facez eslire de chescune citee deinz nostre dite duchee deux citezeyns et de chescun burgh deux de les plus sages et plus suffiseantz burgeoys illoeqes, et meismes les chiualers, citezeins et burgeoys vous facez artier destre as iour et lieu comprizez en lauandit brief, sanz nulle defaute en manere et selonc la porporte dycelle Et outre ce, facez faire bone et due execucion de touz les circonstances de lauandit brief en touz poyntz Et cestes noz lettres vous ent serront garant. Done souz nostre priue seel a la Noef Chastel sur Tyne le xxiiij. iour de Marcz lan du regne nostre tresredoute seignur le roy Richard second apres la conquest septisme.

VII.

*Writ from John of Gaunt to the Sheriff of Lancaster,
30th November, 1392. P.L. 14/154/2/47.*

Iohannes filius regis Anglie, dux Aquitanie et Lancastrie, comes Leycestrie, Lincolnie et Derby et senescallus Anglie, vicecomiti Lancastrie salutem. Breue domini nostri regis clausum recepimus in hec verba :

Ricardus Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie carissimo auunculo suo Iohanni duci Aquitanie et Lancastrie vel eius cancellario in predicto ducatu Lancastrie salutem Quia [*etc. as Lords' Reports, IV, 747-8, substituting ducatus for comitatus*].

Nos volentes breue regium supradictum execucioni debite demandari, tibi precipimus quod de ducatu predicto duos milites, gladiis cinctos, magis idoneos et discretos ducatus predicti, de qualibet ciuitate ducatus illius duos ciues et de quolibet burgo duos burgenses de discrecioribus et magis sufficientibus eligi et eos ad dictos diem et locum venire facias, ita quod iidem milites plenam et sufficientem potestatem pro se et communitate ducatus predicti, et dicti ciues et burgenses pro se et communitatibus ciuitatum et burgorum predictorum, diuisim ab ipsis habeant ad faciendum et consenciendum hiis que tunc ibidem de communi consilio dicti regni Anglie, fauente Domino, ordinari contigerit super negociis antedictis, sic quod pro defectu potestatis huiusmodi seu propter improuidam eleccionem militum, ciuium aut burgensium predictorum dicta negocia domini regis infecta non remaneant quouis modo. Nolumus autem quod tu aliquid sis electus. Et qualiter hoc preceptum nostrum fueris executus sciri facias nobis in cancellaria nostra sub sigillo tuo contra octabas predictas remittens nobis hoc breue Teste me ipso apud Lancastre xxx die Nouembris anno regalitatis nostre comitatus palatini sextodecimo.

Burtone.

Endorsed :—

Iohannes Botiller de Rawcliffe vicecomes Lancastrie sic respondit :

Eligi feci Robertum de Vrswyk et Thomam de Radclif, duos milites gladiis cinctos, magis idoneos et discretos ducatus Lancastrie, quos coram vobis venire faciam ad diem et locum infra hoc breue contentos, prout breue istud in omnibus in se requirit, qui quidam milites plenam et sufficientem potestatem habent pro se et communitate ducatus predicti ad faciendum et consenciendum hiis que tunc ibidem de communi consilio regni Anglie, fauente Domino, ordinari contigerit super negociis de quibus istud breue facit mencionem, secundum formam et tenorem istius breuis. Et non sunt aliqui ciues nec burgenses in ducatu predicto qui ad aliquod parlamentum venire debent nec de iure solent, propter eorum debilitatem et paupertatem.

Et memorandum quod postmodum de precepto domini retornatus fuit Radulphus de Ipre chiualer loco predicti Thome ad essendum vnus militum comitatus Lancastrie ad parlamentum supradictum.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MSS. IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.LITT., D.D.

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
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V.

IN SAMARITAN NABLUS TWO CENTURIES AGO.¹

AS the traveller journeys northward from Jerusalem on the road to Galilee he eventually leaves the long ridge which connects the steep hill country of Judæa with the more gentle slopes of Ephraim and descends into a long broad valley. This is the Vale of Machneh, a fertile tract which runs northward for some eight miles. As the traveller proceeds he will remark on the left at the point where the vale opens out in breadth two hills with rounded slopes separated by a valley which runs westward between them. They are hills famous in Bible history, the mounts of blessing and cursing, Gerizim and Ebal. Westward of the point where the hills most closely approach each other stands the town of Nablus, the ancient Shechem, set in a small paradise of orchards and luxurious vegetation which the numerous wells have created. The name Nablus is an arabicised form of Neapolis, the name given to Shechem after its reconstruction by Vespasian.

In a small corner of Nablus nestling towards Gerizim is the small group of houses which forms the Samaritan quarter. The little community which inhabits the relatively miserable dwellings, known to the western world as Samaritans but who call themselves Shōmerīm, i.e. 'Keepers' of the Law of Moses, is perhaps

¹ The substance of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of December, 1937.

the most remarkable religious sect in the world to-day. Its numbers all told less than two hundred souls, but its history goes back some three thousand years, during which it has carried on its worship in this place with the same rites and ceremonies. The Samaritans claim that they are direct descendants of the Israelite tribes who formed the Northern Kingdom, whilst the Jews hold them in contempt as the descendants of the peoples whom the king of Assyria brought into the land to replace the Israelites whom he had deported, and call them Kuthim, i.e. inhabitants of Kuthah. The view of their origin as a religious community commonly accepted by scholars is that in the time of Nehemiah, Manasseh, a grandson of Eliashub the Jewish High Priest, contracted one of the mixed marriages against which Nehemiah railed having as his father-in-law Sanballat, the Horonite. Having been 'chased' from Jerusalem, he took with him a copy of the Law, and established a rival Temple, erected for him by his father-in-law, on Mount Gerizim. There are difficulties in accepting this account of the origin of the Samaritan religious body but we cannot go into them here.

To the Samaritans Nablus is still Shechem, the place to which Abraham and Jacob first made their way. The Samaritan claims for the Biblical associations of Shechem are wider than most Old Testament scholars are prepared to allow, or even consider. To the Samaritans of two hundred years ago, and even later, Mount Gerizim was the highest mountain in the world, the only one not covered by the flood, and the place where the Ark rested. It was the earth's centre, and on it altars were erected by Adam, Seth, and Noah. In this neighbourhood was the meeting place of Abraham and Melchizedek. Gerizim was Mount Moriah, the Mount of Sacrifice, the Bethel of Jacob, and the chosen place for God's Temple. There Joshua erected altar, tabernacle and temple, and there were set up the twelve stones in whose coating of plaster were graven the words of the Law. In its neighbourhood was the well of Jacob, the tomb of Joseph, and at 'Awartah, seven miles away, were the burial places of Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas. Here, surrounded by sacred memorials of its past, this unique body of worshippers lived on. The first five books of the Bible constituted their entire Scriptures, and they carried

out the commandments, statutes, and ordinances therein set forth with a rigidity greatly in excess of that of the Jews.

It is to the Shechem of two hundred years ago that we now turn to consider the lives of the Samaritans under the spell of their religion, and to gain such insight into their thoughts and feelings as their writings, especially those on the surplus leaves of their codices in the Rylands library, may supply. In the first half of the eighteenth century the number of Samaritans dwelling in Shechem was from all accounts fewer than now, but they had colonies (although each may have consisted only of a few families) scattered abroad. They were to be found in Damascus, Cairo, Jerusalem, Jafa, Gaza, Ascalon, and probably other places. The last of these, that at Gaza, ceased to exist just over one hundred years ago. Their small numbers were a reminder of the cruel fate suffered by this once numerous community, so persecuted by Jewish and Christian rulers that it was reduced to such small proportions. So unimportant politically had the Samaritans become that no mention seems to have been made of them in the records of Crusading times, although the Crusaders occupied Nablus. They appeared to be quietly passing out of existence, and had indeed passed out of sight and mind of the western world long before the end of the sixteenth century. But the rumour that there was a small colony of Samaritans possessing a variant edition of the Law of Moses aroused keen interest amongst scholars in the west. They were eager to possess a copy and in the year 1616 the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle eventually procured two copies in Damascus through the good offices of a Jew after having failed in Cairo, Gaza and Shechem, since the Samaritans in these places would not suffer a copy of their Law to pass into unclean hands. Thus in the seventeenth century the first copy of the Law in Samaritan script came to Europe.

It was, however, Robert Huntington, afterwards Bishop Huntington, who rather more than two hundred years ago brought the western world into direct contact with the Samaritans. At the close of the eighteenth century he was English chaplain in Aleppo. He visited Shechem and proved to the Samaritans to their profound surprise that he could read their strange script.

When he spoke to them of Israelites in England (meaning all the time, as he affirms, Jews), they could not but be convinced that they of whom he spoke were their brethren, and had taught him to read their writing. Their thoughts at that time, you must remember, had turned often to their lost brethren of the Ten Tribes who, according to their belief, had been carried away to distant lands beyond a river of such peculiar properties that it rolled down rocks and sand instead of water and so effectively prevented their return. At his request they gave him a copy of the Law to compare with the one they presumed their brethren in England to have. They also wrote a letter setting forth the essentials of their faith. After an interval of some decades they wrote again having received no reply from their supposed brethren. This second letter, written almost exactly two hundred years ago—in 1734 to be precise—deplores the lack of response to the previous letter. It repeats the account of themselves and their faith, praying for their brethren in England that they might be gathered with the Shechem community upon the top of Gerizim and sacrifice there together. This letter is now in the British Museum Library. Its writer was a certain Mashlamah (or in its Arabic form, Muslim) bin Murjān, a member of a well-known Samaritan literary family named Danafī. Muslim was a scholar, writer and copyist of note, and we are interested in him because no fewer than five of the Samaritan manuscripts in our Rylands library have been either wholly or partially written by him. He was one of six brothers, and we have the handwriting of his brothers Abdullah and Ibrāhīm as well in our manuscripts. All three were fine penmen, as was also their father Murjān, whose writing we also have. All of them, in addition to many of their descendants, have contributed to the non-textual epigraphs on the surplus leaves of the manuscripts on which we are depending for much of the matter of this lecture.

The letter of Muslim proceeds to give an account of the faith of the Samaritans in Shechem, how they call themselves Shōmerīm (‘Keepers’ of the Law), and keep all the commandments, statutes and ordinances according to the truth ‘neither adding to nor subtracting anything from them’. [This latter is directed against the Jews who, so the Samaritans maintain,

stultify the Law by their 'Erubīn.] It records that they take great pains to purify themselves, rigidly observe the Sabbath—on which day they do not go from one place to another, but only to the synagogue ; that they pray twice a day on weekdays, and observe the seven festivals in their season (the Passover, Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, Aşereth). These are kept by everyone except sucklings. They have priests from among the sons of Levi who do not shave the hair of the head. He goes on : " Our cities are under the rule of the Israelites (i.e. Moslems), to whom we pay annually a capitation grant of two gold pieces, and they do not harm us and are only kind to us. We perform our sacrifices and observe our festivals before their eyes, and there is none who hinders us. Some of our people are living in Gaza of the Kaphtorites and others at the coast of the Philistian sea."

This must serve as your introduction to the Samaritan community in Shechem two hundred years ago. They were then, as they still are, a handsome race. One who studied them at close quarters about a hundred years ago thus speaks of them.

" I had seen individuals among Arabs and Jews of as noble aspect as any one of them ; but as a community there is nothing in Palestine to compare with them. A straight and high forehead, full brow, large and rather almond-shaped eyes, aquiline nose, somewhat large mouth, and well-formed chin are their chief physiological characteristics ; and with few exceptions they are tall and of lofty bearing. They seem to be all of one type, and bear an unmistakeable family likeness."

Their dress was simple. The men were dressed in a long open gown of calico fastened at the waist by a girdle, and over this a loose robe. They wore no stockings and only loose slippers which they could easily discard on entering a house. On their heads they had red turbans. Formerly they wore white, but after the unfortunate experience of a governor of the country in the fifteenth century the colour was changed to red. The governor, a Turk, meeting a Samaritan and not recognising him as such, had given the Moslem greeting, to which the Samaritan gave the Moslem response. When the governor

realised his mistake he rushed after the Samaritan and demanded back his greeting, to which the Samaritan laconically answered, "Take it." To prevent the recurrence of such a grave mishap the Samaritans were forced by decree to wear red turbans. Their houses had a central courtyard with the rooms opening on to it after the Eastern fashion. The windows were merely square holes in the wall with lattice work. There were no chimneys and charcoal braziers were used to heat their dwellings. On Sabbaths and those festivals which they treated as Sabbaths, they went without fire or light. The rooms were bare of furniture, and the walls whitewashed. The only furnishing was a stand for the lamp which was fed with olive oil. The occupants squatted on their heels on the floor, there being no chairs. Before setting forth to work in the morning they prayed, going through a service of considerable length, as they did also in the evening on their return. Unlike the Jews they had no service in the synagogue on weekdays. On Sabbath they had three services there. The first was at sunset on Friday, the second on Sabbath morning, and the third in the afternoon some time before sunset.

The town of Nablus at this time was famous for its manufacture of soap and a kind of woollen coat. It may be that some of the Samaritans were employed in these industries, but rather it seems they were mostly small traders, and the educated of them found posts as secretaries to government officials, clerks in merchant houses, tax collectors, or similar occupations. A writer in the year 1711 thus describes them:

"They are the Pasha's scribes and publicans at Joppa and Gaza,¹ as the Copts in Egypt and the Jews generally throughout the rest of the Ottoman empire. They go well and handsomely clothed, and make a tolerable appearance considering the mean condition they are in, and the great caution they are forced to use by reason of the jealousy of their covetous masters."

Their high priest and an assistant were the only recognised official ministrants to the congregation. In the year 1625 the

¹ That they were employed as bureau officials in such towns may account for the Samaritan colonies there.

last of the high priests of the line of Aaron died, and they were forced to turn to the house of Levi to carry on the office. Since that date their high priest is described as Priest-Levite. Their place of worship they had in their midst—a small, dingy building with whitewashed walls lit from the roof. In one side of it was a recess pointing the direction of the summit of Gerizim towards which they prayed. Within this recess, curtained off from the main building, was a coffer containing their scrolls of the Law. Men only could attend the synagogue services, the women remained at home. They doffed their shoes at the door and put on a white surplice-like cloak, and sat on the floor during the service. They kept their headdress on and at certain parts of the service they made responses, stroked down their face and beards with their right hands, or prostrated themselves. The priest knew the whole service by heart and it was gone through with great rapidity.

Their whole life was lived in the atmosphere of religion. In fact their religion was their life. Their year was a religious year, and they lived from festival to festival. When the rigours of the winter had yielded to the more genial weather of spring and the promise of warm summer days lay ahead, they celebrated their first great festival, the Passover. The Jews combine with it that of Unleavened Bread—but the Samaritans regarded the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a separate festival and had two celebrations. On the day before the Feast of the Passover the whole community shut up their houses and ascended Gerizim to offer, not on the summit but at the place of sacrifice lower down, their offering of lambs. The Passover sacrifice of the Samaritans has been so often described that we need not go into detail here. For our little community it was a great occasion often made the subject of notices in the manuscripts in our Library here, and always in language which reveals the fervour of their emotion. They gathered before the great stone on which the priest stood to conduct the service, joined in the responses and the singing, and chanted the prayers. They watched by the fire in the great trench where the water for fleecing the sacrificial lambs was boiled in a cauldron. They piled brushwood into the burning pit (where the lambs were to be roasted) in order to make the

sides red hot. They were present at the slaying of the lambs, the preparation of the carcasses, the spitting on long wooden poles ready to be thrust into the hot pit when the fire had died down, and eventually the sealing of the pit with turf. They came back at midnight with their loins girded with rope, staves in their hands and shoes on their feet to withdraw the carcasses from the pit. In haste as for a hurried flight they tore the blackened flesh apart with their fingers, and ate it with bitter herbs. Then, when the hastily-devoured meal was over, they gathered the remains to the last crumb and watched them burning till nothing whatsoever remained. This they did that the requirements of the Law might be fulfilled.

Within a week they returned again to the summit of Gerizim. The ascent from Nablus involves less than an hour's easy climbing. On the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread early in the morning they gathered at the Synagogue and formed a procession which moved forward slowly on the path to the hilltop. As it proceeded on its way the priest conducted the special service for the occasion, the procession halting at recognised places till the part of the service identified with that stage was completed. With Scripture readings, hymns, responses, antiphonal singing, they journeyed slowly upward to complete, amidst their sacred memorials on the summit, their long service. A Samaritan who describes enthusiastically in one of our Rylands codices one of these festivals in which he had taken part, records with a suspicion of vainglory that the service lasted seven hours.

The members of the Samaritan community now returned to their daily tasks to live through the Pentecostal days, in which families often organised pilgrimages to the tombs of their saints in the neighbourhood, especially to the village of 'Awartah to the tombs of Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas, waiting for the Feast of Weeks, Pentecost, the joy in the harvest. They counted their fiftieth day from the morrow of the Sabbath which falls within the Feast of Unleavened Bread. They looked upon it as a Sabbath day in so far that no work was done, but in the course of the day they ascended Gerizim to celebrate the festival with a service on the hilltop.

From now on to the end of September they enjoyed the summer days in their earthly paradise, looking forward to the first day of Tishri (October) when the civil year began,—the New Year, with its Feast of Trumpets. The trumpet was not blown in the Synagogue (as is the Jewish practice), but on that day they went to the Synagogue for a long service lasting about six hours. And then nine days later, the 10th of Tishri, came the greatest day in their religious calendar, the Yom Kippūr, the Day of Atonement. Two hours before sunset the whole congregation of Israel, men and women, purified themselves by ablutions ; and at least half an hour before sunset the last meal had been eaten preparatory to the great Fast. From that time until half an hour after sunset twenty-five hours later no food nor drink passed their lips. The male members of the congregation repaired to the Synagogue to pass the night in solemn darkness, reciting parts of the Pentateuch interspersed with prayers and ancient hymns, until the dawn broke. With the morning light it was the practice of some to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Joseph, returning at noon to the Synagogue when the service was resumed. As the afternoon slowly passed and the long service drew to a close came the great event of the day. The ceremonial presentation to the assembly of the Sacred Scroll, purporting to have been written by Abishua, great-grandson of Aaron. When it was brought forth by the priest all prostrated themselves before it and then pressed forward to kiss or handle the part unrolled, exhibiting the Aaronic blessing [Numbers vi, 24-27]. Thus, in the words of the letter of Muslim in the year 1734, “ they chastised their souls from evening to evening, men as well as women and children, great and small, except the babes that sucked at their mothers’ breasts ”. And so ended in the dark of the evening their revelry of repentance.

Five days later came the Feast of Tabernacles when in the courtyard of their homes they made themselves booths, as prescribed in Leviticus [xxiii, 40], and dwelt in them seven days. They only ceased from work on the first of these days and on the eighth day. On the first day they made a pilgrimage to the summit as they did on the Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Pentecost, that the command might be fulfilled : “ Three times

in the year all the males shall appear before the Lord " [Exodus xxiii, 17]. Muslim's letter tells us that on each of the seven days they stood at the foot of Mount Gerizim and prayed there with joy and with a happy heart evening and morning. The eighth day, the day of solemn rest, they call 'Aṣereth, and regard as the seventh and last festival of the calendar. The Jews, on the other hand, have a two-days' festival. On the first they offer a prayer for rain during the *Mūsaf* service. The second is the *Simḥath Tōrah*, the Rejoicing of the Law, when they finish the reading in the Synagogue of the last portion of the Law, and begin again at Genesis, and when their scrolls are produced and carried round the Synagogue seven times.

Whilst we know how the Samaritans carried out their religious ceremonies two hundred years ago we are enabled, also, to learn something of their mental outlook from the notes they have left on the surplus leaves of their manuscripts. These notes are mostly in Arabic and are of a very varied character. The Samaritans made use of all their codices for this purpose, except their Pentateuch manuscripts, regarding them as suitable places for the preservation of the records of events of family or communal interest. Very often the contents of the codex had a bearing on the character of the additions. Thus a manuscript copy of the service for the dead has a number of entries recording the deaths of members of the community, and on the surplus leaves of their great calendar are numerous entries of births and marriages. Such entries, whilst they follow generally stereotyped forms, are sufficiently varied to make them full of interest, and add much to our knowledge of the Samaritans. The form of the record of birth is after the fashion of the following, which dates from the year A.D. 1756:

"On Wednesday, the hallowed, at midday, the 18th of the month of Jumādā I, 1170, Arabic era, there was gifted to the writer Ibrāhīm, son of the late Ya'qūb, son of Murjān, the Danaḥite, a female child, and we called her name Iṣpahān. May God, Most High, make her advent a cause of good both to her and to all the body of Israel, and may our Lord make clear to us through her advent that happiness and relief are at hand for the sake of his Apostle and Interlocutor, the

beloved Prophet on whom be the finest of prayers and the most perfect of salutations for all time to come. And praise be to God alone, before whom none was, nor after whom any."

Often it is much shorter. In the case of the birth of a boy it is often petitioned that he may be numbered amongst the receivers of the Law. Occasionally, but infrequently, the birth of twins is recorded, an event which to a community continually praying to God to increase their numbers must have been particularly welcome. On one occasion (about the year 1738, although no exact date is given) there is the entry of the birth of triplets, a boy and two girls. Whether they survived or not we do not know, as their names are not given, which may perhaps be ominous, but equally there is no mention of their death. Infant mortality was high amongst the Samaritans. How often do we find added to a notice of birth a supplementary notice recording the death of the child, after only a few days or weeks, ending with the petition: "We ask God to grant another in its place." The cause of death is not usually given, except in a few instances where small-pox is specially mentioned.

Marriages were entered upon at a very early age, in the case of a boy as early as from twelve to fifteen years of age, and in that of a girl ten years or even earlier. The marriage was arranged by the parents. The ceremony was simpler than with the Jews, and the celebrations generally lasted for a week and sometimes longer. There was nothing to prevent the Samaritan marrying a second wife, but it had to be with the consent of the first. They had their lucky and unlucky days of the week and Thursday was the day for marriages. The marriage entries in their codices are generally in the form we now give.

"On the day of Thursday, the hallowed, the 13th of the month Dhū'l-Qa'dah of the year 1170 [A.D. July, 1757] was celebrated the marriage of the most beloved and noble brother, the soul of my heart, Isaac Shelaby, to the young and immature girl Laṭīfah, daughter of the late Isaac, brother of the deceased father of the writer, Jacob the Danafite, the mercy of God be upon them all. The marriage, praise be to God Most High, was remarkable for all manner of songs and music, and the

festivities lasted for fifteen days. May the favour of God Most High shield him and link him with the prophets. Amen, Amen, Amen, O God, Amen, for the sake of our Master Moses, the faithful one. The writer is the wretched Ibrāhīm al-'Ayah, who hopes for the mercy of his Lord and for the granting of the prayer of him who reads this and invokes mercy upon me."

At the marriage ceremony the priest officiated. Appropriate portions of the Law were read, prayers offered and blessings pronounced.

Death and burial followed each other closely in our little community. Hardly had the breath left the body when it was prepared for burial. The reciting of the whole Law was part of the funeral service and it was begun forthwith. When the end of chapter xxix of Deuteronomy was reached the body was raised and borne to the grave, the mourners walking in front reciting the succeeding two chapters. When they had finished them they ceased to recite and left the rest of the book till they were ready to lower the body into the grave. For three days afterwards at dawn, or until the Sabbath intervened, they said special prayers, called by them 'ablutions,' for the deceased. The office of 'ablution' was also said at the evening prayer.

The length of obituary notices found in the codices depended on the importance of the deceased. The following is one of moderate length and may be taken as a fair example of such notices.

"And when it was Wednesday, a day unhallowed, there came to us from the town of Jenīn news black as charcoal, of the translation by death to the mercy of our Lord who liveth for ever, of him who was the chief stay of the congregation of Israel, president of its assemblies, pillar of the faith, support of the Israelite family, leader in and promoter of good works and public charities, mainstay of the Mosaic belief, eminent writer, joy of hearts, benefactor, true adherent and doer of the holy Law, solicitous father. Alas for his place in Synagogue services. Alas for widow and orphans bereaved. Alas for his exhortations. Alas for his guidance on the eve of the Day of

Atonement and on all feast days, the beloved of my heart and my consoler at the death of my father, and my more than father, my teacher in all good things, Joseph, son of the late Sarūr al-Ṣabāḥī, may the peace of God be upon him. The writer of this is the despised and poor slave the Priest-Levite, Salāmah, who prays God that he may avert his anger from his servants, the people of Israel, and multiply them and redeem them for the sake of him who communed with God. Amen."

The literature of the Samaritans was, as might be expected, mainly religious. History, exposition of Scripture, liturgical compositions, religious chants formed its substance although astronomy and astrology also had their exponents. About two hundred years ago the Danaḥī family, represented by the six brothers of whom we have already spoken, was active. There was evidently a strong literary strain in the family for they were authors of a number of pieces, liturgic, expository, poetic, which have been preserved in the codices. Several of their compositions have been written in rhymed prose, or *saj'*,—a form of rhetorical prose to which the Arabs were much attracted. Thus they could tell in impassioned language of the thrill of the service on Mt. Gerizim, of days such as had never been before, of pilgrimages to the tombs of Eleazar, Ithmar, and Phinehas at 'Awartah, of wonderful hours spent there in the 'love and light' of the saints, days which they prayed God Most High to renew upon the people of Israel.

But two hundred years ago a strain of the occult was also manifesting itself. In view of the religious atmosphere in which the Samaritans lived this is perhaps not surprising. It took the form of 'dreams and visions of the night' which are vividly described. One at least of these appeared to have had a practical outcome, for the writer, who does not give his name but appears to have been a nephew of Muslim, relates that it was through the effect of a dream that he came to restore the tomb of Eleazar at 'Awartah which had fallen into ruin.

The writer narrates how he fell asleep on the eve of the holy Sabbath and dreamed that he made the journey to 'Awartah with its meadows, gardens, trees, grain-crops, and drew near to the

courtyard of the tomb of Eleazar. He was filled with the fear-some awe of the unseen and was not able to approach the tomb itself. But after a time summoning up all his courage, he advanced to the steps leading to it with terror in his heart. There came forth to meet him a man of venerable aspect clad in white raiment suffused with light and with a white turban on his head. He was of middle stature, red in face, with long white hair and beard. When the visitor saw him, thus he was seized with great trembling and could not utter a word. The Saint addressed him, and inquired of him if he was prepared to carry out the restoration of the place and reap the reward. After the Saint had withdrawn his visitor resolved to do what was asked, and at once he saw the shrine lit up and the courtyard returned to its former state. He woke up bathed in perspiration and when dawn came he repaired to the Synagogue with his brain in a whirl and disclosed the matter to his brethren. As soon as the Sabbath was over he proceeded to organise an expedition. He called into his aid a master builder, two foremen and six workers and assembled all the equipment necessary. He took along his mother and aunt to cook for the expedition. When they arrived at the place and had asked, as the custom was, the Saint to grant permission, they came upon a peasant working on the spot, who told them of a strange happening. On the day before he had lain down to rest after his midday meal and had fallen asleep. In his sleep an old man had appeared to him and had told him that no attempt must be made to arrest the work of restoration. The whole party now threw themselves into the work they had planned, which is described in detail, and when dusk fell and the moon rose they drank coffee and spent the night singing to the accompaniment of the lute praises to God until the day broke. And what a dawn—glorious, shining, adorable, splendid! Eventually towards the end of the week the work was finished, and when all were resting in happiness and contentment there stole over the company, whence they knew not, a perfume as of spices and myrrh, stronger than aloes wood, and with it a deep sense of awe, convincing them that the Saint accepted with gratitude the restoration of the place and thus consecrated their labours.

A dream of a similar character befell Ṣadaqah b. Sarūr, which Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, nephew of Muslim, records.

Ṣadaqah was sleeping on the eve of Friday when he dreamed that he was making his way to the village of 'Awartah, and when he arrived at the tomb of Phinehas he found a service in progress. In the company of worshippers he recognised only Sheikh Muslim,¹ the brother of the writer's father, and two others, the priest Levi and the priest Joseph. Stationed between them was the Saint himself. As the service proceeded those present pressed forward to kiss the hands of the Saint. Ṣadaqah drew near and asked Muslim's permission to do likewise, but he was told "That is not for you. He is not of your sphere." Ṣadaqah noticed that Muslim was wearing a green turban, so he asked him: "O my uncle, whence have you the turban?" He answered: "It is a mark of favour from our Master, 'Abīsha', the composer. He put it upon me, and there is none other in this state of existence privileged to wear it." Then he added: "O Ṣadaqah, you will take a message to my nephew Ibrāhīm² and will say to him: 'Thy uncle sends you greeting and enjoins on you [to recite] the "chapters of the place" on the eve of Kippūr (the Day of Atonement).'" And as Ṣadaqah was withdrawing from the place with the service still proceeding, he awoke.

The Ibrāhīm who wrote the account we have just given had himself a dream, which took him to the cave of Macpelah at Hebron, where the Patriarchs are buried. This dream because of its character, he was convinced, presaged his entry hereafter into the blissful Garden through the blessing of those at whose place of sepulture he found himself present. In his dream he saw himself approaching Hebron after a long journey as a weary traveller. On reaching the town he was directed by a stranger to the 'abodes' of the Patriarchs. He describes the majesty of the place, begging all description, its vastness, its pillars, its carpets, its embroidered hangings. He entered tomb after tomb all branching off from the main cave. Three beautiful maidens, whom he took to be inhabitants of Paradise, guided his steps,

¹ This is Muslim b. Murjān, the writer of the letter to the brethren in England.

² The one who has written down the account.

but would not suffer him to approach near to them. They directed him to a chamber of surpassing beauty where lay the Patriarchs in raiment-like shrouds of dazzling whiteness. There he stood quaking all over. He remarked that there were seven in all, four above and three below. The four were Adam, Seth, Noah and Lamech ; the three were Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Tears coursed from his eyes. "With my head bowed to the earth I remained silent and downcast, and I prayed my Lord to inspire me to recite what he should choose and be pleased therewith, and that he might enable me to express the feelings of all living. And all the while I was weeping." He then enumerates the passages of Scripture and parts of the liturgy which he recited. During it he remained with senses numbed, bathed in perspiration and swimming in a sea of fear. He uncovered his head and fell at the feet of these saints with an earnest prayer for help. Whilst so engaged, some one spoke to him, saying : "O follow, those outside await you," and lo ! and behold it was his cousin, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, who urged him to hasten. And so he made his way from the tomb, and as he reached the outer world again he awoke.

So much for the dream literature. The pieces summarised above all come from the same period, the middle of the eighteenth century. There are no more such pieces in the codices we have in the Library here. In them we see the first steps towards imaginative writing, and the birth of a new literature amongst the Samaritans. But unless other examples exist elsewhere the babe was still born.

When Ibrāhīm spoke of his dream presaging for him Paradise he was giving expression to a thought and a desire continually in the minds of the Samaritans. In the petition with which they closed every piece of writing they invariably at this time asked God to grant the freedom of 'The Garden'. The Samaritan conception of Paradise is indicated in a few lines of poetry attached to the end of a poem in one of the codices. They are independent of the poem to which they are appended both in theme and metre, and it is not clear why they have been placed there at all. Although brief, they are none the less interesting. I give them in translation.

“ O traveller to the Garden fair
 Pray tell me what you found in place so rare ?
 Why there you'll see where'er you look around
 A glistening pearl and sapphire-studded ground.
 It there for you the manna will display,
 And there the quails pursue their cumbrous way.
 And in the midst of all a shining dome,
 All gleaming white, where Moses sits at home,
 His great green mantle fluttering abroad,
 Its borders brodered with the name of God.
 And in his hand, clear sparkling in the light,
 A pen of silver wherewithal to write.
 For he it is who faithful doth record
 What deeds are done by servants of the Lord.”

The curse of the book borrower is not confined to any age or place. The Samaritans suffered from the forgetful borrower, as witness the following lines found at the end of a codex :—

“ Beware my friend, when you a book would lend,
 For in this world on man you can't depend.
 His word you cannot take—if lend you must,
 Then take a pledge and keep it safe in trust.
 Prompt to deny and ready with excuse
 The man with turban big but conscience loose,
 Of such beware, his fate is very plain,
 To Hell he'll go and there he will remain.”

Before leaving the subject of their literature, we may draw attention to rhymes which Samaritan scribes, when they had finished transcribing a manuscript, often added at the end. It was their way of asking the reader to forgive any mistakes in the transcription.

“ My writing in this book will now remain,
 The hand that writes the grave will soon contain.
 By God I ask you, reader of this book,
 To pray that He my faults may overlook.
 Perchance the Lord will me with mercy crown,
 Through Moses who to honour books came down.”

The foregoing is the one most commonly found, but sometimes another is added :

“ And if you find a fault, and it excuse,
 His eye of favour God will not refuse.
 O blame not him in whom is fault, but say
 How great is God who faultless is always ! ”

But the notices on the surplus leaves of the manuscript are generally more of personal and communal interest than literary. There are notes on the weather when the inhabitants were kept indoors for days by heavy rain, and for sheer joy when it ceased they went round to each other's houses to congratulate each other. They tell of occasions when snow fell long and steadily and reached in depth to the stature of a man; when earthquakes shook their houses during the night and they all rushed out of doors to spend the remaining hours till daylight in the open. They tell of times when drought made things scarce and dear and locusts destroyed what little remained. It is recorded how on one occasion a Governor of Syria with a great army encamped at Nablus, and requisitioned all the lambs in the neighbourhood to feed his troops so that they were not able to offer their Passover sacrifice that year on Gerizim. The personal entries are numerous—family records of births, marriages and deaths in particular. Sometimes they are so numerous that we can read and follow the life-history of the writer. We will take the case of Salāmah b. Ya'qūb, a nephew of the Muslim of whom we have already spoken, and follow out the entries.

Salāmah was born in December, 1716, and in the year 1738 he records in the Great Calendar that he studied it. In the same year he was married to Shelḥah, a mature girl. There must have been a marriage before this of which we have no record for his first marriage would take place when he was about fourteen years old. In April of the year 1740 his wife died and in December of the same year he married again, his wife's name being Ṣādiqah. In February, 1746, his wife presented him with a daughter whom they named Sarah. When Sarah was but seven months old she died. Six months later, in March 1747, his wife Ṣādiqah also died. In February, 1748, eleven months later he married again, this time his wife's name was Ṣāliḥah. Ten months later a daughter was born whom they called Iṣpahān, after the name of his mother. When Iṣpahān was three years old she died of small-pox, and the parents were consoled when, three months later (in May, 1752), another daughter arrived whom they also called Iṣpahān. Four months later she, too, followed her sister to the grave. In September, 1752, he had married Ṣāfah,

a cousin of his, so that he had, unless there is some slip in the dates of the entries, two wives living at this time. That was, of course, permitted by the Samaritans under certain circumstances. In June of 1753 a daughter was born to Šāfah whom they also named Šāfah, and in December of the same year his other wife Šāliḥah died.

There is now a gap in the entries, and the next we find tells us that in July, 1764, he married Hadiyah, so presumably Šāfah had died in the interval. And then in July of the following year (1765) there was great excitement and rejoicing, for a son was born. Attention was drawn in the entry to the fact that Salāmah had now reached his fiftieth year and had not had a son born to him, all his previous children having been daughters. They called the boy's name Ibrāhīm. Knowing the anxiety of the Samaritans for male issue and that probably Salāmah's bigamies were intended to secure that, we could all hope that it would be spared. But alas, there is a short supplementary note that the boy died when twenty-one days old. The note goes on to say that the very next day a son was born to another member of the Danafite family and they called its name Ibrāhīm. This child died also when it was twenty-two days old. In May of the following year (1766) a daughter was born, whom they named Iṣpahān, and to whom they gave the pet name Maḥbūbah (darling). In May, 1768, he records the birth of another daughter, whom they named Bihān but she died after a month. Then in July, 1770, Salāmah's dearest wish was again gratified. A son was born and this time they called the child Jacob. But alas, this child, too, died when only three months old. Then the last entry records the death of his wife Hadiyah in July, 1773, and mentions that she was the seventh wife to die, adding "May God cause us to be patient in our afflictions." Then, curiously enough, he quotes a well-known utterance based at least on the Quran although his spelling is defective: "There is no power nor might save with God the high and mighty." No entry gives the date of Salāmah's death. It may have been on one of the surplus leaves of the codex which have been lost.

Has tragedy much more to offer? Surely Salāmah's life was one long pilgrimage through a vale of tears. Yet it is not unique

in these records. Other lives there were almost as heavily shadowed as Salāmah's. But we must be content with the examples we have given. We have no time to go into all the entries.

We can but hope that modern progress has made a difference to the surroundings of the Samaritans and that the mortality rate is not so high. This appears to be so since their numbers have recently shown a slight increase. The march of time has made a difference to them in other respects. A motor road now leads to the summit of Gerizim. The tents which they used to pitch on the summit have now given way to semi-permanent wooden structures lit by electricity. The sacrifice of the Passover is carried out under the glare of arc lamps and visitors who have come by bus from Jerusalem are accommodated with forms and chairs to enable them to witness the ceremony in comfort. Gone is the relatively simple life and the rigid seclusion of two hundred years ago. We can only hope that none of the deep religious spirit has gone also.

It is our hope also that these notes, imperfect and disjointed as they are and necessarily must be, will at least arouse in your mind's eye a picture of Samaritan Shechem two hundred years ago. There is something in this little congregation which holds the attention—the *naïveté* of its conception of the outside world, the keenness of its religious education, the fervour of its religious spirit, the sternness of its religious discipline, and the grimness of its struggle for existence. The Samaritans would rather perish than marry outside their own community. They are a monumental example of the power of religion to control life and to sustain it.

ISRAEL'S SOJOURN IN EGYPT.

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THE impression gathered from the Biblical narrative is that Joseph first went down into Egypt, where he was later joined by Jacob and his entire family, to the number of seventy souls. For four hundred and thirty years did they sojourn in Egypt, until, after a period of oppression, they were led out by Moses. Then followed forty years of wandering in the wilderness, after which Joshua led the united Israelite forces into the Promised Land, by way of Jericho. Everywhere victorious, he succeeded within a few years in reducing the entire country, largely annihilating the inhabitants, and then divided the land out amongst the tribes.

That innumerable problems arise when this narrative is examined more closely, in the light of the Biblical and extra-Biblical evidence, is well known. So far as the evidence of the Old Testament itself is concerned, it has long been observed that the chronology is in disagreement with the genealogies. For whereas Ex. xii. 40 declares that the sojourn in Egypt lasted for four hundred and thirty years, the genealogies normally assign four generations to the period. It is common to accept the four hundred and thirty years, and J. W. Jack defends it on the ground that in Hebrew 'son' may mean 'descendant,' and that genealogies may skip some of the steps.¹

It is to be observed, however, that Ex. xii. 40 stands in the Priestly Code, and that it is in the very bad numerical company of the greatly swollen numbers of the outgoing Israelites (xii. 37). Moreover, there were ancient doubts of its accuracy. For the

¹ *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, p. 217.

Samaritan Pentateuch adds the words 'in the land of Canaan' before the words 'in the land of Egypt,' while the Septuagint adds the same words after 'in the land of Egypt.' The effect of this addition is to make the four hundred and thirty years include the entire period from Abram's migration to Canaan, and since by the comparison of Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9, we learn that the period from Abram's migration to the descent into Egypt was two hundred and fifteen years, the length of the sojourn in Egypt is just halved. Though this reading was followed by Paul (Gal. iii. 17) and by Josephus,¹ and was accepted in preference to the Massoretic text by older harmonists,² it is generally recognized today that it is not original.

That the larger number of years for the sojourn in Egypt stood in the original text of Ex. xii. 40, however, does not involve the conclusion that its chronology is accurate. It would seem to find some general support from Gen. xv. 13, which probably belongs to E. Here we read of the divine revelation to Abram that his descendants should be afflicted in Egypt for 'four hundred years,' and on this text Stephen based himself (Acts vii. 6) as also did Josephus in passages other than that already referred to.³ But Gen. xv. 13 is plainly untrue to history, for so far from the oppression having lasted for four hundred years, the book of Exodus declares that it was begun in the reign of one Pharaoh, and terminated in the Exodus under his successor.

Over against these two passages, Ex. xii. 40 and Gen. xv. 13, however, we have the evidence of the genealogies contained in many passages. Thus Gen. l. 23 indicates that Machir, the grandson of Joseph, had already reached manhood before Joseph died. Assuming that we are correctly told that Joseph was thirty when appointed to control Egypt, and that the seven good years, together with part of the famine years,⁴ had passed before the descent into Egypt, we may estimate that Joseph is

¹ *Antiquities*, II, xv, 2 (318).

² So Whiston, in his note on the passage in Josephus referred to, and T. R. Birks, *The Exodus of Israel*, 1863, pp. 39 f.

³ *Antiquities*, II, ix, 1 (204), and *Wars*, V, ix, 4 (382).

⁴ Gressmann (in Gunkel Festschrift, *Eucharisterion*, i, 1923, p. 29) argued that the oldest form of the tradition knew but two years of hunger.

represented as dying some seventy years after the descent. But Num. xxxii. 40, Josh. xvii. 1 imply that Machir was still alive many years after the Exodus—or four and a half centuries after the migration into Egypt. It may be urged in reply that Machir may have been the name of a clan, rather than an individual, but it does not seem to have been an important clan name, and it is very improbable that it persisted for anything like so long a time.

In addition to this, however, we find the following genealogical lists connecting the sons of Jacob with the generation of the Exodus: Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses and Aaron;¹ Levi, Kohath, Izhar, Korah;² Levi, Kohath, Uzziel, Mishael;³ Levi, Kohath, Uzziel, Elzaphan;⁴ Reuben, Pallu, Eliab, Dathan;⁵ Levi, Jochebed, Moses and Aaron;⁶ Judah, Perez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon and Elisheba;⁷ Joseph, Manasseh, Machir, Gilead, Hephher, Zelophehad, five daughters;⁸ and connecting the sons of Jacob with the generation following that of the Exodus: Judah, Zerah, Zabdi, Carmi, Achan.⁹ Here there is a variation from the third generation after Jacob (Moses, through his mother) to the seventh (Zelophehad's daughters). That there is some variation is but natural, since parents are not all the same age when their children are born, and in the period of the Exodus people of widely different ages were amongst the company. But the frequency with which we find four generations linking the periods of the descent and the Exodus is significant, while even the highest number could not provide the normal for a period of over four hundred years. Nor will the acknowledged fact that 'son' sometimes stands for 'descendant,' and that links in genealogies may be omitted, serve here. For it is highly improbable that the same omissions would be made in all these cases. Moreover, since we are expressly told that Jochebed, Moses' mother, was the

¹ Ex. vi. 16, 18, 20; Num. xxvi. 57-59.

² Ex. vi. 16, 18, 21; Num. xvi. 1. ³ Ex. vi. 16, 18, 22; Lev. x. 4.

⁴ Ex. vi. 16, 18, 22; Lev. x. 4; Num. iii. 17, 19, 30.

⁵ Num. xxvi. 5, 8, 9. Cf. also Num. xvi. 1, where we should probably read 'Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the son of Pallu, the son of Reuben.'

⁶ Ex. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59. ⁷ Ex. vi. 23; Num. i. 7; Ruth iv. 19, 20.

⁸ Num. xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1. ⁹ Josh. vii. 1.

sister of Kohath,⁴ it is clear that the genealogy from Kohath to the age of the Exodus is intended to be read as an exact one, while Gen. xlv. 11 states that Kohath was amongst those who went down into Egypt.

Moreover, whereas 1 Kings vi. 1 states that from the Exodus to the founding of the Temple was a period of four hundred and eighty years, which would place the latter event in the nine hundred and tenth year after the descent into Egypt, Ruth iv. 18-22 states that David was in the ninth generation from Perez, and therefore Solomon would be in the twelfth from Jacob. Again, therefore, from a wholly different source, we find the chronology discredited by a Biblical tradition.

It is not, of course, suggested that these genealogies are all unimpeachable, or that all the statements that have been drawn on are completely reliable. But it is suggested that this persistent Biblical tradition as to the duration of the sojourn in Egypt ought not to be swept aside on no more authority than Gen. xv. 13 and Ex. xii. 40. For the difficulties of calculating so long a period as four hundred and thirty years in the absence of a fixed era would be so great that it would be antecedently probable that the genealogies would yield a more trustworthy clue.

Attention is sometimes directed to Gen. xv. 16 for further evidence of a tradition that the Egyptian period should occupy but four generations. This, however, is hardly justified. For the word *dor* in Hebrew far more commonly means *cycle of time* than *cycle of birth*, and in view of the preceding 'four hundred years' (xv. 13), it most probably means the large cycle of a century here.

I.

We may now turn to examine briefly the external evidence, and the theories of the date of the Exodus to which it has given rise. For this purpose we must rapidly sketch the history of Egypt in certain critical periods. And of these the first is the Hyksos period.

⁴ Ex. vi. 20.

About 1800 B.C. Egypt fell under the dominion of some Asiatic conquerors, who are commonly known as the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings. This name is derived from Manetho, who is quoted by Josephus¹ as stating: 'Their race bore the generic name of Hycsos, which means "king-shepherds." For *hyc* in the sacred language denotes "king," and *sos* in the common dialect means "shepherd" or "shepherds"; the combined words form Hycsos.'² There is some disagreement amongst Egyptologists as to the accuracy of the name,³ but there is no uncertainty as to the fact that they were Semitic (or, according to some, Hittite) conquerors from Asia, who established themselves in the Delta region, but only secured temporary control of Upper Egypt. Manetho assigns to them five hundred and eleven years of rule in Egypt,⁴ but modern scholars assign a much shorter period, and place their expulsion from Egypt at about 1580 B.C.⁵ These Asiatic conquerors were then driven out and pursued into Palestine, but the hatred their rule had engendered long persisted.

Josephus identified the Hyksos with the Hebrews, and in

¹ *Contra Apionem*, i, 14 (82).

² Translation of Thackeray, in Loeb edition, i, 1926, p. 195.

³ Breasted (*History of Egypt*, 1906, p. 217) says 'there is no such term to be found as "ruler of shepherds," and Manetho wisely adds that the word "sos" only means shepherd in the late vulgar dialect. There is no such word known in the older language of the monuments.' He thinks the word Hyksos is a Greek spelling of the title 'ruler of countries,' which is found on the contemporary monuments. Peet, however, says (*Egypt and the Old Testament*, 1922, pp. 68 f.) 'Although it is true that *hyk* is good Egyptian for a ruler it has sometimes been said that there is no Egyptian word *sos* meaning shepherd. Quite lately, however, a German scholar has pointed out that the Egyptian *shos*, a general name for the Asiatic bedawin who lived on the fringes of the Delta between Egypt and Palestine, came in later times to have the meaning of shepherds, these people being mainly pastoral in their pursuits. It would therefore seem that Manetho was not erring when he translated Hyksos as Shepherd Kings.' Others connect with the *hiq ḥosit* = *tribal chiefs*, or *desert princes*, of the monuments. Cf. Mallon, *Les Hébreux en Égypte*, 1921, p. 43; also Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., 1927, p. 212 n., and *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 311; Blaikie, *History of Egypt*, i, 1929, p. 403; and Gunn and Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v, 1918, p. 38.

⁴ *Contra Ap.*, i, 14 (84).

⁵ Breasted (*op. cit.*, p. 221) says 'A hundred years is ample for the whole period,' but Baikie (*op. cit.*, i, pp. 425 f.) shows that this is no longer tenable. The *Cambridge Ancient History* allows it from *circa* 1800 to 1580 B.C.

modern times this view has been defended by H. R. Hall¹ and A. H. Gardiner.² On this theory the sojourn in Egypt is a confused memory of the period of Hyksos domination, and the Exodus story rests on the expulsion of the Hyksos. The difficulties of this view scarcely need elaboration, however. For while it would be easily understandable that in Hebrew tradition the expulsion of their ancestors might be transformed into a triumphant escape, it is far less likely that any people who had been in Egypt as masters would have represented themselves in their own traditions as slaves. Yet this was the deepest memory of the Hebrews, appearing not alone in the narrative books, but in prophecy and in psalm. Moreover, it would be necessary to expand the period of the wandering in the wilderness to about two hundred years.

II.

About 1500 B.C. Thutmose III became the Pharaoh of Egypt.³ He was a great warrior, who extended his empire into Asia and conquered the whole of Syria. The kings of the Hittites and of Babylon sent presents to him, and in his own inscriptions he describes these as tribute. For the first part of his reign he shared the throne with his half-sister Hatshepsut, whom he married. That he cordially hated her is clear from the fact that after she died, he had her name hacked off many of the monuments she had erected.

The view that Thutmose III is the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and that the Exodus took place in the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., has long commanded a following, but in recent years it has grown very rapidly in favour. Peet inclined to it,⁴ and Jack presented it with much force and persuasion,⁵ and

¹ *A.H.N.E.*, pp. 213 n., 408 n., and *C.A.H.*, i, p. 311.

² Cf. 'The Expulsion of the Hyksos' in *J.E.A.*, v, 1918, pp. 36-56, and 'Tanis and Pi-Ramesse,' *ibid.*, xix, 1933, pp. 122-128.

³ Breasted here agrees with the *Cambridge Ancient History* in dating the reign of Thutmose III, 1501-1447 B.C.

⁴ *Egypt and the Old Testament*, p. 121.

⁵ *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925. The same view was taken by K. Miketta (*Der Pharao des Auszuges*, 1903) and J. Orr (*Problem of the Old Testament*, 7th imp., 1909, pp. 422-424).

since the archæological researches of Garstang at Jericho it has been widely adopted, and is followed in our standard history of Israel.¹ Some of those who have adopted this view have suggested that in Hatshepsut we may find the Pharaoh's daughter who rescued Moses from the Nile.

About 1375 B.C. Amenhotep IV ascended the throne of Egypt.² At that time the Theban priesthood had enormous influence and wealth, and controlled all the offices of state.³ But the young king was a religious reformer, who soon broke with the Theban priests and all they stood for. He exalted the sun-god, and proclaimed him to be the sole deity. The sun-god was Aton, and the king would no longer be called after the Theban god Amen, but altered his name to Ikhnaton. He confiscated all the wealth of the Theban priesthood, and applied it to the new worship, and in order to extricate himself from the control of the priests, he built a new capital, which he called Akhetaton, and shifted the seat of government from Thebes thither. It is sometimes suggested that Ikhnaton was a dreamy theorist, and a weak-willed man, who let the administration of the country fall to pieces while he was fiddling with religion. But the man who could challenge the powerful Theban priests

¹ Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, i, 1932, p. 80. Cf. Robinson, 'The Date of the Exodus' in *Expository Times*, xlvii, 1935-36, pp. 53-55. So, too, Dussand, *Syria*, xi, 1930, pp. 390-392; Yahunda, *The Accuracy of the Bible*, 1934, pp. 116-128; Dennefeld, *Histoire d'Israël*, 1935, pp. 64-70; Caiger, *Bible and Spade*, 1936, pp. 68-71.

² Baikie (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 387) dates the accession of this king in 1376 B.C., while Weigall (*Life and Times of Akhnaton*, 1923, p. 1) agrees with Breasted and the *Cambridge Ancient History* in dating it in 1375 B.C. For an account of Ikhnaton, cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 355-378 and *C.A.H.*, ii, 1924, pp. 109-127; Weigall, *op. cit.*; Peet, *C.A.H.*, ii, pp. 203-209; Hall, *A.H.N.E.*, pp. 297-307; or Baikie, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 227-318.

³ Cf. Weigall, *op. cit.*, p. 16: 'At Thebes the priesthood of Amon formed an organization of such power and wealth that the actions of the Pharaoh had largely come to be controlled by it'; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 362: 'One of Amenhotep III's High Priests of Amon had also been chief treasurer of the kingdom, and another, Ptahmose, was the grand vizier of the realm; while the same thing had occurred in the reign of Hatshepsut, when Hapuseneb had been both vizier and High Priest of Amon. . . . Indeed, the fact that such extensive political power was now wielded by the High Priests of Amon must have intensified the young king's desire to be freed from the sacerdotal thrall which he had inherited.'

in this way appears to have been no weakling, but a man of strength and determination. Nor is there much indication that the administration of Egypt fell to pieces. We shall look below at what was happening in Palestine, but whatever is the explanation of the situation there, Egypt appears to have been effectively controlled.

The reform does not seem to have been at all popular, but while Ikhnaton lived it continued unchallenged. His reign was short, however, and the reform had not secured any deep root, and hence it vanished within a few years of his death. Religious innovation is always hard to carry through, and when it involved the attack on the vested interests of so powerful a corporation as the priesthood of Amen, who supplied so many of the principal officers of state, it must have been especially heavily handicapped.

Ikhnaton died young, *circa* 1360 B.C.,¹ and after his death Smenkhara reigned for about two years, and was then succeeded by Tutankhaton. This king had no interest in the religious changes, and soon yielded to the popular yearning for the old ways, and restored the former religion. He moved the capital back to Thebes, while his own name was changed to Tutankhamen. The reform was over and forgotten, and the ephemeral capital of Akhetaton was soon neglected, and gradually buried beneath the sand. In modern times it is known as Tel-el-Amarna, and it was here that the famous Amarna tablets were found in 1887. They were part of the state archives of that age, and many of them contain despatches and letters concerning Palestinian affairs.

It is of interest to observe that there are in them several references to Ugarit (i.e. Ras Shamra)² and one of them was actually sent from Ugarit to the Pharaoh.³ It is of even greater interest to observe that in the recently found Ras Shamra texts there is a reference, in a colophon at the end of one of the

¹ Breasted, Weigall and Baikie, give 1358 B.C. for the termination of Ikhnaton's reign, while the *Cambridge Ancient History* places the accession of Tutankhaton in 1360 B.C.

² Cf. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, ii, 1915, pp. 1016 f., and Dussaud, *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 1937, p. 14 n.

³ Knudtzon, No. 45. Cf. *op. cit.*, ii, p. 1098.

mythological texts, to a high priest of Ugarit, named Atn-prln.¹ Since this high priest bears the divine name Aton as part of his name, it is probable that Ikhnaton's reform had secured some hold in this distant corner of his Syrian dominions, and presumably this priest lived in the Amarna age.

We learn from the Amarna letters that Palestine was a dependency of the Pharaohs, but that it was divided into a number of little city states, each under its own prince. These princes addressed letters to the court of their overlord, and again and again pleaded for help against some invaders who were pressing in from the north and south. There are several letters from Abdi-ḥiba, king of Jerusalem, telling of the inroads of these invaders, and pleading earnestly with the king to send some help, or the whole of Palestine would be lost to his empire. Abdi-ḥiba calls the invaders Ḥabiru. In the tablets from the more northerly places they are usually called SA-GAZ, but as this is an ideogram, we have no certain knowledge as to how it was read. But it is quite certain that Ḥabiru and SA-GAZ were kindred tribes,² engaged in a common effort to secure a footing in Palestine.

Many questions have been raised by these tablets, and there is still no unanimity as to the answers they should receive. The first is, Are the Ḥabiru to be identified with the Hebrews? Most scholars answer in the affirmative, though whether they are the Hebrews who entered the land under Joshua is another question. There are, however, some who dispute the identification of the names.³

The writers who identify Thutmose III with the Pharaoh of the Oppression find in the Amarna letters an account of the conquest of Canaan written from the point of view of the Canaanite kings. They find the period of the wandering in the wilder-

¹ Cf. Virolleaud, *La Légende phénicienne de Danel*, 1936, pp. 31 f.

² Cf. Dhorme, *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (ed. L. Pirot), i, 1928, col. 220. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, xxxiii, 1924, pp. 12-16. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 7 ff., gives a list of the occurrences of Ḥabiru and SA-GAZ, where they appear to be the same. These are found in several other texts besides the Amarna letters.

³ So Dhorme, *Supp. au Dict. de la Bible*, loc. cit.; Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, i, 1925 (*Der Alte Orient*, xxiv, Heft 3), p. 18 n.; Ricciotti, *Storia d'israele*, i, 2nd ed., 1934, pp. 180 f.

ness in the second half of the fifteenth century, and here, in the first half of the fourteenth, the incursion into Canaan. But the course of the invasion would seem to be very different from that recorded in the book of Joshua.¹ Moreover, where the kings of specific towns are mentioned in the book of Joshua and also in the Amarna letters, there is a complete lack of agreement in the names.²

In favour of the view it is pointed out how exactly it accords with the chronology of 1 Kings vi. 1. There we read, as has already been noted, that the foundation of Solomon's temple was laid in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus. While there is no exact agreement as to the date of Solomon's accession,³ all modern authorities would bring his fourth year within the second quarter of the tenth century B.C., and most would place it within the narrow limits 969-965 B.C. This would bring the Exodus to *circa* 1445 B.C., which is precisely where it would best fit, if Thutmose III were the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

Into the involved question of the chronology of the period from the Exodus to Solomon we cannot here enter. That there

¹ Cf. Baikie (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 308): 'If the Hebrews are the Habiru, and the letters of the loyal Egyptian residents are to be accepted as presenting a true picture of the events of the time, then it is impossible to regard the Biblical account of the Conquest of Canaan as anything more than a romance, and a romance which can scarcely be even said to be based upon fact. There are not any two facts in the two stories which agree with one another.'

² Cf. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, 3rd ed., 1921, p. 92 n.; Lods, *Israël*, 1930, pp. 207 f. (*E.T.* by Hooke, 1932, p. 183); and, on the other side, Jack, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 ff., where the attempt is made to identify Abdi-hiba with Adoni-zedek. Olmstead (*History of Palestine and Syria*, 1931, p. 197; cf. also Fig. 78) confidently identifies Iashaia of the Amarna letters (Knudtzon, No. 256, line 18) with Joshua, but with as little justification as his identification of Benenima with Benjamin.

³ Oesterley and Robinson (*History of Israel*, i, 1932, p. 463) place Solomon's accession in 976 B.C.; Hall (*A.H.N.E.*, Table facing p. 516) in 975 B.C.; S. A. Cook (*C.A.H.*, iii, 1925, p. 356), *circa* 974 B.C.; H. P. Smith (*Old Testament History*, 1911, p. 499), 973 B.C.; Kittel (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 7th ed., ii, 1925, p. 21 and Ricciotti (*op. cit.*, i, p. 341) in 972 B.C.; Jirku (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1931, p. 146) in 971 B.C.; Jack (*op. cit.*, p. 202) in 969 B.C.; Lewy (*Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda*, 1927, p. 27) in 960 B.C.; Olmstead (*op. cit.*, p. 338) and Mowinckel (*Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige*, 1932, p. 271) in 955 B.C.

is a serious discrepancy between the chronology of the book of Judges, in its present form, and the reckoning of 1 Kings vi. 1, is agreed by all, but various are the methods by which the discrepancy is explained. Were it not that the number four hundred and eighty happens to suit a theory of the Exodus, it would be suspected by all as an artificial computation. For elsewhere we find a curious fondness for numbers that are multiples of forty, and it is very probable that the author of 1 Kings vi. 1 believed that twelve generations spanned the period, and computed it on that basis.

It has already been said that where a choice has to be made between the reckoning of a long period in years, and the reckoning by genealogies, the latter is more likely to be trustworthy, and that in Ruth iv. 18-22 we have the genealogy of David traced in nine generations back to the son of Judah. But Num. i. 7 assigns Nahshon to the period of the wandering in the wilderness, while Ex. vi. 23 states that his sister married Aaron. For the period from Nahshon to David we are left with five generations, and therefore with six generations to cover the four hundred and eighty years from the Exodus to Solomon. Nor will the suggestion that all the links may not be included provide any adequate way out. For if, as is generally held, the closing verses of the book of Ruth had an origin independent of that of the rest of the book, we have corroborating testimony in iv. 17 that the genealogy from Boaz to David is a precise one. We should have to suppose, then, that a period of more than three hundred years is linked by a single obscure name Salmon. For so serious a lacuna in what purports to be a genealogical tree well authenticated parallels should be adduced, before we are asked to set it aside in favour of an artificial estimate of a period running to half a millenium.

Support of a very different character for this view of the date of the Exodus, however, has been provided by the excavations of Professor Garstang, at Jericho. He has found evidence that part of the wall collapsed, and that the city was utterly burned, and he claims to be able to date the event with great exactness. Using the evidence of the broken pottery, he concludes that Jericho fell about 1400 B.C., and that the site

remained unoccupied for some centuries. Reinforcing these conclusions, he has presented the evidence of some more recently discovered graves, in which were scarabs bearing the names of Egyptian kings. The latest of these scarabs bear the name of Amenhotep III, who was reigning about 1400 B.C.¹ He therefore claims that Joshua can be dated precisely by this evidence, and that his attack preceded the period of the Amarna letters, which therefore reflect the subsequent spreading of the Israelites over the land.²

Not all the archæologists are agreed on these conclusions, however. Vincent, whose eminence in Palestinian archæology is of long standing, and who personally examined Garstang's diggings, is wholly unconvinced, and places the fall of Jericho about two centuries later than Garstang,³ as also does Sir Flinders Petrie.⁴ Moreover, the most eminent American scholar in this field, Professor Albright, while at first inclined to follow Garstang, has more recently recanted from this position.⁵ Clearly, therefore, the archæological evidence is not indisputable,

¹ Garstang estimated that there were three to four hundred tombs (*Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, xix, 1932, p. 19), of which twenty-four were opened and cleared (p. 35). Tomb A he holds to have been a family vault which remained in use for over a hundred years (p. 20), and in Tomb 4 he found two of the three scarabs of Amenhotep III his excavations have yielded (p. 36).

² Cf. 'The Fall of Bronze Age Jericho' in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1935, pp. 61-68, where Garstang says (p. 68): 'Five seasons devoted to the examination and excavation of this site have convinced me that no other conclusion can satisfy the abundant circumstantial evidence bearing upon this date.' Cf. also 'The Walls of Jericho,' *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 186-196; 'A Third Season at Jericho: City and Necropolis,' *ibid.*, 1932, pp. 149-153; 'Jericho: City and Necropolis' in *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, 1935, pp. 143-168, xxiii, 1936, pp. 67-76; and *Joshua-Judges*, 1931.

³ Cf. 'La chronologie des ruines de Jéricho' in *Revue Biblique*, xxxix, 1930, pp. 403-433; 'Céramique et chronologie,' *ibid.*, xli, 1932, pp. 264-276; 'Jéricho et sa chronologie,' *ibid.*, xlv, 1935, pp. 583-605.

⁴ Cf. *Palestine and Israel*, 1934, pp. 54-58. Garrow Duncan, who formerly inclined to the other view (cf. Preface to vol. ii of his *Digging up Biblical History*, 1931: 'if the date of Joshua's arrival in Palestine was nearer 1400 than 1200 B.C., as many are now inclined to believe, and as I think will ultimately be the accepted date'), now definitely follows Petrie (cf. *New Light on Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 180-189).

⁵ Cf. 'Archæology and the date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine' in *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 58, April, 1935, pp. 10-18. Cf. also *ibid.*, No. 57, Feb., 1935, p. 30.

and it cannot be supposed, as at first appeared, that it closes the door on all further discussion of the question.

Nor does Garstang's view accord with all the Biblical data in any case. For both S. A. Cook¹ and Sir Flinders Petrie² point out that while Garstang places the fall of Jericho in the Bronze Age, Josh. vi. 24 places it in the Iron Age.³ But it is impossible to find exact accordance between the Biblical and the archæological evidence on any theory, and anachronisms in the much later Biblical accounts are easily credible. Similarly, when Sir Flinders Petrie points out that according to the Biblical accounts the Philistines were already in Palestine,⁴ whereas their entry only dates from *circa* 1200 B.C.,⁵ the objection is not convincing, since we read of Philistines, and even of Philistine kings, in the accounts of Abraham and Isaac.⁶ Where, on any theory, a greater anachronism in relation to the Philistines must be recognized, a lesser anachronism can scarcely be deemed a difficulty. More serious, perhaps, is the consideration advanced by Lods,⁷ that archæology shows that it was during the period 1500 to 1200 B.C. that Canaanite art reached its highest development, while after 1200 B.C. there followed a period of decline. But again the objection is not conclusive. For while it may be allowed that the arts would not be expected to flourish during the period of the Settlement, it has to be remembered that the Amarna letters give indisputable evidence of some invasion during this period.

It is on the archæological side that the question will have to be decided, and it is here that the most damaging objections have been brought. For whereas Garstang claims that the fact that the latest scarabs he found in the Jericho necropolis were two of Amenhotep III proves that the city was destroyed

¹ Cf. *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1932, p. 92.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 56. Similarly Duncan, *New Light*, p. 188.

³ Cf. also Josh. xvii. 16, 18.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 56. Similarly Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 189. The Scripture passages are Ex. xiii. 17 and xxiii. 31.

⁵ On the question of possible advance settlements of Philistines earlier than this, cf. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, 1931, pp. 285-287, and Garsfals, *Biblica*, xviii, 1937, pp. 9 ff.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xxi. 32, 34; xxvi. 1, 8, 14, 15, 18.

⁷ Cf. *Israël*, 1930, p. 208 (*E.T.* by Hooke, 1932, p. 183).

in that king's reign, Albright replies that the scarabs of this king continued in use long after his death. Indeed, even in Egypt scarabs of the kings who reigned during the century and a half after the death of Amenhotep III are relatively scarce, while hardly any have been found in Palestine.¹ Moreover, at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), in a temple whose latest period is dated by Starkey in the first half of the reign of Rameses II (1292-1225 B.C.), and by Albright in the second half of that reign, four scarabs of Amenhotep III were found in the remains of that latest period.²

Further, the fact that Garstang found in the Jericho cemetery four imitations of Mycenæan vases is regarded by Albright as strong evidence against his conclusions. For it was only in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. that Mycenæan pottery was largely imported into Egypt, though its import had begun at the end of the fifteenth century. Its import into Palestine is not likely to have been earlier than into Egypt, and Palestinian imitations earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century are very improbable.³

Petrie, while not denying Garstang's view that Jericho was destroyed *circa* 1400 B.C., would place the date of this destruction in the neighbourhood of 1370 B.C., and associate it with the revolt of Syria. He notes, however, that there is evidence of a second burnt layer, later than this, and he would connect this later burning with the Israelite incursion, *circa* 1180 B.C.⁴ Vincent, too, emphasizes the evidence that Jericho continued to be occupied after 1400 B.C., but Garstang maintains that such settlements as continued were unprotected by a wall, and were quite unimportant.

To complicate the issue still further, evidence from other localities is presented. Thus, Glueck maintains that evidence from Edom proves that the Exodus could not have taken place

¹ *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 58, April, 1935, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f. These considerations would seem to shake the basis of Jack's conjecture (*Expository Times*, xlviii, 1936-37, p. 551) that the burning of Lachish took place about 1400 B.C., on the ground of the lack of scarabs of Pharaohs after Amenhotep III until the reigns of Ay, Horemheb, and Rameses II.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Cf. also Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1935, p. 598.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

in the fifteenth century B.C.¹ He says, 'Had the Exodus through southern Transjordan taken place before the thirteenth century B.C., the Israelites would have found neither Edomites nor Moabites who could have given or withheld permission to traverse their territories.'² Moreover, the fall of Lachish, which Josh. x. 31 f. places shortly after the fall of Jericho, is dated by the archæologists late in the thirteenth century B.C.,³ while Ai, so far from having been taken by Israel, as Josh. viii. 28 records, is stated to have been unoccupied from *circa* 1900 B.C. to 1200 B.C.⁴ Albright suggests, however, that in the Biblical account there has been confusion between Ai and the neighbouring Bethel, whose fall he would place early in the thirteenth century B.C.,⁵ while Petrie would place it after 1200 B.C.⁶ Dussand rejects Albright's harmonising view, and prefers frankly to reject the historicity of the Biblical account,⁷ while Phythian-Adams, who agrees in holding the Biblical account of Ai to be fictitious, argues that this involves no conclusions as to Jericho.⁸

¹ Cf. 'Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb' in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 55, Sept., 1934, pp. 3-21; and, against Glueck, Phythian-Adams in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1934, pp. 181-188.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 16. R. de Vaux (*Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, p. 540) observes that the Egyptian texts do not mention Edom and Seir before Rameses II, Merenptah and Rameses III, and that this is naturally of importance for the question of the date of the Exodus.

³ Cf. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 58, April, 1935, pp. 13 f., No. 68, Dec. 1937, p. 24, and Starkey, 'Tell Duweir,' in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1933, pp. 190-199, and 'Excavations at Tell Duweir, 1933-34,' *ibid.*, 1934, pp. 164-175.

⁴ Cf. Judith Marquet-Krause, 'La Deuxième Campagne de Fouilles à Ay (1934)' in *Syria*, xvi, 1935, pp. 325-345; and Vincent, 'Les Fouilles d'Et-Tell' in *Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, pp. 231-266.

⁵ Cf. Pirot's *Supp. au Dict. de la Bible*, Fasc. xiii-xiv, 1936, col. 376, and Albright, 'The Kyle Memorial Excavation at Bethel' in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 56, Dec., 1934, pp. 2-15 (p. 11: 'It is possible to say with confidence that Bethel-Ai fell into the Israelite hands in the thirteenth century'), and 'Observations on the Bethel Report,' *ibid.*, No. 57, Feb., 1935, pp. 27-30. Vincent, however, has suggested (*Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, pp. 258-266) that though Ai was a ruined fortress, its natural strength may have made it a temporary stronghold, until it was captured by Joshua. Cf. also *Expository Times*, xlviii, 1936-37, p. 550.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁷ *Syria*, xvi, 1935, p. 351 n. Cf. Lods, *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, 1936, pp. 847-857.

⁸ 'Jericho, Ai, and the Occupation of Mount Ephraim' in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1936, pp. 141-149.

The evidence of archæology cannot yet be said, therefore, definitely to date the fall of Jericho, much less to establish the date of the Exodus.¹ For if Garstang's date be allowed to uphold the chronology of 1 Kings vi. 1, the other evidence as decisively overthrows the historical value of the traditions of Joshua's conquest of the central highlands. Of the importance of the material archæology has brought to light there can be no question, nor can it be denied that a complete harmonization of the Biblical accounts and our extra-Biblical material is quite impossible. But undue weight should not be given to archæologists' estimates of dates, since they depend in part, at any rate, on subjective factors, as the wide differences between them sufficiently prove.

III.

About 1292 B.C. Rameses II ascended the throne of Egypt.² Once more Egypt had a warlike king, of the stamp of Thutmose III, and he at once set about recovering the Asiatic empire that had been lost. At this time the Hittite power of Anatolia was expanding, and the Hittites were attempting to bring Syria under their control. Rameses therefore marched against them, and in 1288 B.C. met them near Kadesh on the Orontes.³ Here the Hittites succeeded in putting the Egyptians to flight, but by staying to plunder their camp gave the Pharaoh time to rally his forces, and the opportune arrival of some reserves enabled him to renew the attack. Time after time Rameses led his men forward with great personal heroism, until finally, as night fell,

¹ It must be emphasized that even though there should be ultimate agreement that Jericho fell *circa* 1400 B.C., this would in no wise involve the conclusion that the Exodus took place earlier than this. For it will be seen below that there are not wanting those who hold that the fall of Jericho had nothing to do with the body led by Moses, while Albright thinks it had nothing to do with Joshua. In view of the tendency to ascribe to Joshua the whole glory of the Conquest, and to credit him with victories won by separate groups, we cannot rule out *a priori* the possibility that the story of the fall of Jericho was transferred to him in tradition, in which case the exact definition of the date of the fall does not decide his date. Cf. Lods, *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, 1936, pp. 854 f.

² Breasted and C.A.H. agree in the dates 1292-1225 B.C. for Rameses II.

³ Cf. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh: a study in the earliest known military strategy*, 1903, and C.A.H., ii, 1924, pp. 143-147.

the Hittites withdrew into the city of Kadesh. Thereafter for some years Rameses led his troops annually into Palestine to confirm his power there, and to meet the attacks of the Hittites. After the death of the Hittite king, Mutallu, however, his successor Hattushil made a treaty with Rameses. For about this time the Assyrian power was looming on the Hittite horizon, and Hattushil saw that it was important to have an understanding with Egypt, so that he could be free to deal with the menace from the east. This treaty has long been known from Egyptian sources, but more recently a duplicate copy, in Babylonian cuneiform, has been found at Boghaz Keui, amongst the Hittite archives discovered there.¹

Rameses II reigned for sixty-seven years, and was succeeded by Merenptah, in whose reign Egypt began to lose her hold on her empire once more, and within a few years Egyptian power ceased to be felt in Palestine. On one of his inscriptions Merenptah boasts of the peoples he has subdued, and amongst them he mentions Israel. This is the famous Israel-stele, which contains the first mention of the name Israel in any ancient record. Merenptah says 'Israel is desolated, her seed is not,' and it is plain from the context that Israel is a people already found in Palestine. This, of course, well accords with the view that the settlement in Canaan had taken place in the previous century. But it is not clear from the form of Merenptah's reference that Israel was in more than a nomadic stage.

It is further to be observed that on the inscriptions of Rameses II we find mention of a people 'Asaru, occupying the very district that the tribe of Asher is stated in the Bible to have occupied,² and even in the reign of his predecessor Seti I we find similar mention of 'Asaru.³ Here then we seem to have further confirmation of the view that the Exodus was long past, and the Israelite tribes settled in their homes. It should be added, however, that Jack expresses some doubt as to the soundness of the identification of 'Asaru with Asher,⁴ while Eerdmans definitely contests it.⁵

¹ Cf. *C.A.H.*, ii, 1924, pp. 150, 265 f.

² Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, i, 1932, p. 75 n.

³ Cf. Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 82, and Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, i, p. 76 n.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁵ *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii, 1908, p. 56.

Amongst the scholars who dispute the location of the Exodus in the fifteenth century B.C., there is a common disposition to place the period of Joshua's attack at the end of the thirteenth century B.C., or early in the twelfth. In that case the Pharaoh of the Oppression would be Rameses II, and the Pharaoh of the Exodus Merenptah. In support of this view it is observed that in Ex. i. 11 we are told that the Hebrews were set to taskwork by the Pharaoh, and were employed in the erection of the store cities of Pithom and Raamses. Many years ago Naville identified the city of Pithom with a site which he excavated in the Wadi Tumilat,¹ and claimed to have proved that it dated from the time of Rameses II, while the very name of Raamses suggests that it was built in the time of Rameses, and named after the king.

This evidence, which was once regarded as giving the most powerful support to the late date theory of the Exodus, is treated with less respect today. It is countered by the consideration that these cities are now shown to be much older than the time of Rameses II.² This, however, is in no way surprising. For when the Pharaoh wished to fortify store cities, he would hardly create cities where none had been, but would choose existing cities that were suitably located, and equip them for his purpose. But it is suggested that possibly the Hebrew labourers of an earlier age built the cities which were afterwards rebuilt or fortified by Rameses II, when one of them was re-named after the king, and that the Biblical writer committed the anachronism of using the names which the cities had in his own day.³

The value of the evidence of the names of Ex. i. 11 is further discounted by the consideration that they are found in a single verse, and that the names themselves are not vital to the narrative.⁴ In these circumstances we ought not to exaggerate their

¹ Cf. *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 1885.

² Cf. Lods, *Israël*, 1930, p. 211 (*E.T.* by Hooke, 1932, pp. 185 f.).

³ Cf. Dennefeld, *Histoire d'Israël*, 1935, p. 69.

⁴ Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 73; and Yahuda, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f. Cf. too, Miketta, *Der Pharao des Auszuges*, 1903, pp. 39-41, where it is held that the names are an intrusion into the text. Similarly Kalt, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 2nd ed., 1937, col. 344.

importance for determining the issue. Against this, however, it must be remembered that more than a single verse is in question. For the whole Biblical narrative implies that the royal residence, at any rate for part of the year, was not far from the district where the Hebrews lived, and that district appears to have been in the Nile Delta region, though the land of Goshen cannot be certainly identified. It is then relevant to observe that Rameses II is known to have undertaken large building operations in the Delta region, and to have built for himself a splendid residence at Pi-Rameses, which became the second capital of the empire.¹ This capital is now known to be identical with Avaris, the Hyksos capital.² On the other hand, however, nothing whatever is known of any building operations of Thutmose III in this district. All his known building activities were carried on in Upper Egypt.

There are, however, some other considerations. In two Papyri, dating from the time of Rameses II, there is mention of people called 'Aperu, who were employed as haulers of stones for temples built by this monarch.³ It is commonly claimed that 'Aperu is to be equated with Hebrews, but this equation is not unchallenged.⁴ The statement is sometimes made that on a stele of Rameses II, found at Bethshean in the Jordan valley, there is mention of the 'Aperu being engaged on the

¹ Cf. C.A.H., ii, 1924, p. 152; and Mallon, *Supp. au Dict. de la Bible*, ii, 1934, col. 1340.

² Gardiner ('The Delta Residence of the Ramessides' in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v, 1918, pp. 127-138, 179-200, 242-271; cf. also Naville, 'The Geography of the Exodus,' *ibid.*, x, 1924, pp. 18-39, and Gardiner's reply, pp. 87-96) presented the view that Pi-Rameses is to be identified with the later Pelusium, and this view has been accepted by Mallon (*Les Hébreux en Égypte*, 1921, pp. 106-119), Peet (*op. cit.*, pp. 83-91), Breasted (C.A.H., ii, 1924, p. 152) and Lods (*op. cit.*, p. 198; *E.T.*, p. 174). It was contested however, by Montet ('Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramsès' in *Revue Biblique*, xxxix, 1930, pp. 1-28), who identified Avaris and Pi-Rameses with Tanis. This was a reversion to the older identification of Brugsch, and the case of Montet was so convincing that Gardiner has now reverted to this view ('Tanis and Pi-Ramesse; a Retractation' in *J.E.A.*, xix, 1933, pp. 122-128).

³ On the 'Aperu, cf. Peet, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-125; Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Jack, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-241; also Eerdmans, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 52-56.

⁴ Cf. C.A.H., ii, 1924, p. 328; Mallon, *Biblica*, vii, 1926, p. 109; Albright, *Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research*, vi, 1926, p. 36 n. Cf. also Miketta, *Der Pharao des Auszuges*, 1903, pp. 50-55.

building of Pi-Rameses,¹ but the statement is unwarranted.² The inscription mentions Pi-Rameses, indeed, but does not say who built it.³ The confirmation of the Biblical account of Ex. i. 11, which has been supposed to lie here, is therefore wanting. Moreover, in the reign of Thutmose III (1501-1447 B.C.) and in that of Seti I (1314-1292 B.C.) there is also mention of the 'Aperu, and a text of Seti I locates a body of them, whose attack was beaten off, in Gilead.⁴ And to complicate the matter still further, we find mention of them in still later inscriptions. Thus Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.) refers to them, while Rameses IV (1167-1161 B.C.) mentions eight hundred of them as being employed on some expedition. Apparently, therefore, at whatever date we choose to place the Exodus, we must suppose that not all the Hebrews came out of Egypt, if they are rightly to be identified with the 'Aperu.⁵

Attention is often drawn to yet another consideration. In the Old Testament there is no mention of the Egyptians as having had any dealings with the Israelites from the time of their entry into Palestine until the time of Solomon. Had they been settled in Canaan before Rameses II subdued the whole of Palestine and Syria, it would be surprising for their traditions to contain no reference to that period of Egyptian control. For they retained memories of various other foreign oppressions to which they were temporarily subjected, and record a whole

¹ Cf. Hall, *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1925, p. 117. Cf. also *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1924, p. 199; *Revue Biblique*, xxxiii, 1924, p. 429 n.; Jack, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² Cf. Mallon, *Biblica*, vii, 1926, p. 112.

³ Cf. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Bethshan*, 1930, p. 34. Also *ibid.*, 'The Two Royal Stelæ of Beth-shan' in *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania), March, 1929, pp. 89-98, especially p. 95: 'It has been frequently stated elsewhere that the stela here described refers to the building of the city of "Raamses" of Exodus, i, 11, but this is not so. The text contains no mention whatever of any such building operations, nor of the Israelites, although it certainly does contain a reference to the famous Delta town of Raamses.'

⁴ Albright (*A.A.S.O.R.*, vi, 1926, p. 36 n.) says it is impossible to tell from the stela whether they were enemies or allies of Egypt. But cf. Rowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.

⁵ It is often assumed that the 'Aperu in the later texts may have been prisoners of war. Hall, who puts the Exodus earlier than any mention of them, assumes that this explanation accounts for them in all cases. Cf. *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1925, p. 118.

series of them in the book of Judges. To this it is replied that Rameses may have kept to the coast road, and that we have no record of any battle which he fought in Palestine itself.¹ He is hardly likely, however, to have proceeded into Syria without establishing the reality of control in Palestine. When Pharaoh Necho, in 608 B.C., was preparing for the struggle with the rising power of Babylon that followed three years later, his first care was to ensure control over Palestine, and it cannot be supposed that Rameses II was more lacking in military wisdom.²

In view of these considerations, I adhere to the view which was usual until recently, that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and that the Exodus took place under his successor, *circa* 1225 B.C. The evidence is not simple and irresistible, and I have tried not to present it as such, but to show that we can be guided only by probabilities amongst the maze of apparently conflicting evidence.

It is to be observed that this view means that the entrance of the Israelites under Joshua took place at very much the same time as that of the Philistines into the coastal plains. For the Philistines do not appear in the land to which they gave their name until early in the twelfth century B.C. We have already noted that the Biblical record implies that the Philistines were settled in the land in the age of the Exodus, but have found that little evidential value can be attached to this. The Philistines, indeed, figure little in the history of Israel until long after the Settlement. It is on this ground that it is sometimes argued that the Israelite settlement in Canaan must have preceded that

¹ Cf. Jack, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 78 f.; especially p. 79: 'Egypt knew well that the Habiru-SA-GAZ were not to be meddled with.' Were the Hebrews in this age really a more formidable people than the Hittites? It should, indeed, be noted that if the 'Aperu are rightly identified with the Hebrews, we appear to have a record of an encounter between them and Seti I (see above), while if the Merenptah stele is accepted as evidence that the Exodus had taken place before the reign of Merenptah, we have further record of a conflict between Egypt and the Hebrews.

² T. H. Robinson assumes that Rameses received the submission of the peoples of Palestine without fighting (*History of Israel*, i, p. 79). But this does not explain the absence of reference to Egypt in the Old Testament between the Settlement and Solomon. For the book of Judges does not record the battles whereby foreign dominion was established, but the fact of foreign dominion.

of the Philistines, and T. H. Robinson concludes from Jg. v. 17 that the victory of Deborah must have preceded the Philistine incursion, since the migration of Dan had clearly not yet taken place.¹

This, however, is going much beyond the evidence. The Philistine incursion was made from the sea, and Joshua's was made from the Jordan. They were therefore in quite separate districts, and as the invaders in each case succeeded in establishing themselves and extending their power but gradually, it is not surprising that they should not come into conflict with one another for a considerable time. That the migration of Dan appears not to have taken place in the time of Deborah does not involve the conclusion that Deborah antedates the Philistine settlement. For there is nothing whatever to suggest that the tribe of Dan hastened to migrate as soon as the Philistines landed.² We have no means of knowing how long it was before the Philistines came into conflict with the Danites, or how long it was after the conflict began before a portion of the Danites decided to migrate. The fact that at the end of the period of the Judges we find the Danite Samson still maintaining the conflict with the Philistines, and some portion of the tribe of Dan still keeping its foothold, suggests that there is no necessity to put the migration of the rest of the tribe very much earlier than this. We have no conclusive evidence in the Old Testament, therefore, for the comparative dating of the entry of Joshua and that of the Philistines, and there is no valid objection to the view that they might have been at approximately the same date.

¹ Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 78 f., and *Expository Times*, xlvii, 1935-36, p. 54. Albright, on the other hand, places this victory *circa* 1125 B.C. (*B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 62, April 1936, p. 29, and No. 68, Dec. 1937, p. 25).

² Robinson does not, indeed, place the migration to the north immediately after the Philistine incursion, but thinks Asher could not have retained the reputation of being primarily a sea-faring people after 1192 B.C. He therefore assumes that the Philistines secured immediate and complete control of the whole sea-board. The assumption of so rapid an establishment of their position along the whole coast requires the further assumption that their progress for the next century and a half was disappointingly slow, for it was not until the age of Samuel that they were pressing into the hinterland.

There remain, however, several difficulties in the way of the late dating of the Exodus. What are we to make of the Habiru of the Amarna letters? And what of Merenptah's mention of Israel as apparently in Palestine in his reign? And what of the mention of 'Asaru in the inscriptions of Seti I and Rameses II?¹ These can only be explained on the assumption, which has frequently been made, that not all the tribes of Israel went into Egypt and returned under Moses. Some of the Israelites went into Egypt, and other kindred groups entered Palestine and effected a settlement there. Later, those who had entered Egypt came out under the leadership of Moses, and then under Joshua launched an attack on the central district of Palestine by the way of Jericho. There have not been wanting scholars who have suggested that the Amarna letters tell of the earlier wave of invasion, but that the Exodus under Moses was the prelude to the second wave,² and this view I share. This view is not, indeed, quite so *démodé* as is sometimes suggested,³ and a respectable list of its recent adherents can be provided.⁴

¹ It is possible that Asher and Zebulun are mentioned in the Ras Shamra tablets (cf. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret*, 1936, pp. 38, 44, 34—I. 94 f., 182 f. *Ašr*, and I, 17 *Zblmn*). Albright, however, reads differently in both cases (*B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 63, Oct. 1936, pp. 27 n., 29 n.). R. de Vaux (*Revue Biblique*, xlv, 1937, p. 542), who would locate the legend of Keret in Galilee, concludes that the tribes of Asher and Zebulun already in the fifteenth century B.C. occupied the districts where they settled.

² So P. Asmussen, 'Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan,' in *Memnon*, vii, 1915, pp. 185-207; Paton, 'Israel's Conquest of Canaan' in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxii, 1913, pp. 1-53; Burney, *op. cit.*; Barton, 'The Habiri of the El-Amarna Tablets and the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine,' in *J.B.L.*, xlviii, 1929, pp. 144-148. Paton identifies the Habiru with the older Leah tribes, Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah, and a later wave with the younger Leah tribes Zebulun and Issachar, and the tribes of the Exodus with the Rachel tribes only. The Zilpah tribes, Gad and Asher, he finds to be Canaanite tribes that amalgamated with the Leah tribes, and similarly the Bilhah tribes, Dan and Naphtali, to be Canaanite tribes that were annexed by the Rachel tribes. It is unnecessary to accept all the details of this view, and it will be argued below that the tribes of the Exodus probably included more than the Rachel tribes, though they were probably its chief elements.

³ Cf. T. H. Robinson (*Expository Times*, xlvii, 1935-36, p. 54): 'With very few exceptions serious Old Testament scholars have abandoned the nineteenth dynasty date' for the Exodus.

⁴ The following date the Exodus in the latter part of the thirteenth century B.C., though in one or two cases with some reserve: Dhorme (*Supp. au Dict.*

There are many indications in the Old Testament that the attack on Canaan was not the united effort of the whole Israelite clans, as might be suggested by the superficial reading of the book of Joshua, but that the separate tribal groups acted separately, each fighting for its own hand, and that it was only very gradually that co-operation between them was established. And if the various groups acted independently, their incursions may not all have synchronized with one another. The tribes that Joshua led appear to have been principally the Joseph tribes, and his work lay chiefly in the central district of the land. Possibly the attacks recorded in the Amarna letters are earlier and independent movements of kindred tribes, that effected settlements in districts in the north and the south. It was not until the time of Deborah that the tribes of the central and northern districts combined to act against the Canaanites who possessed the Valley of Esdraelon, and not until the time of Saul and David that the central and southern districts acted together against the common menace of the Philistines. And it was only as the tribes became welded together that their traditions were fused, and they developed the idea that their entrance into the land had been effected in a single movement.

The Old Testament provides some evidence that the tribe of Judah really advanced from the south to take possession of the district in which it settled, instead of crossing the Jordan near Jericho with Joshua, and proceeding southwards. In Jg. i. 16 f. we read that the tribes of Judah and Simeon, together with the Kenites, went from Jericho to the south of

de la Bible, i, 1928, col. 224); Gunkel (*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., iv, 1930, col. 234; Hempel (*Althebräische Literatur*, 1930, pp. 8 f.); Jirku (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1931, pp. 67-70); Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, xli, 1932, pp. 264-276; xliv, 1935, pp. 583-605); Barton (*Archæology and the Bible*, 6th ed., revised, 1933, pp. 41 f.); Schmidtke (*Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan*, 1933, p. 66); Flinders Petrie (*Palestine and Israel*, 1934, pp. 55-58); Heinisch (*Das Buch Exodus*, 1934, pp. 16-23); Duncan (*New Light on Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 148, 180-189); Wardle (*History and Religion of Israel*, 1936, p. 33); Meek (*Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 33 f.); Laverigne (*Chronologie Biblique*, 1937, p. 48). In addition the following clearly incline to this view, without wholly committing themselves: Lods (*Israël*, 1930, pp. 205-215; *E.T.*, pp. 181-189); Mallon (*Suppl. au Dict. de la Bible*, ii, 1934, cols. 1340-42); and cf. *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, 1936, pp. 847-857; Ricciotti (*Storia d'Israele*, i, 2nd ed., 1934, pp. 225-227).

Arad, which is about sixteen miles south of Hebron. Here they conquered the Canaanites, and utterly destroyed all the people of Zephath. They thereupon called the name of the place Hormah. But Num. xxi. 1-3 tells us that during the time of the wandering in the wilderness, the children of Israel left Kadesh Barnea, and were attacked shortly after by the king of Arad. They thereupon vowed that they would destroy the Canaanite cities, and when they had fulfilled this vow, they called the name of the place Hormah. It is clear that we have here two different accounts of the same event, but the one says the attack was made from the south, and the other says it was made from Jericho. Moreover, the one says it was made before the entrance across the Jordan, and the other says it was made after that entrance.

It is highly probable that in the Numbers story we have preserved a memory of the fact that Judah's movement into Canaan was earlier than the time of Joshua, and that it was from the south. Other considerations point to the same conclusion. When the Israelites first came into the land of Canaan, they did not succeed in capturing the city of Jerusalem. Jg. i. 8 says they did, and that they burnt the city and put the inhabitants to the sword. But Jg. i. 21 contradicts this, and says they did not take Jerusalem. That the latter is to be accepted is shown by the fact that in the time of David Jerusalem was still in Jebusite hands, until he captured it. We are also told that Gezer remained in Canaanite hands (Jg. i. 29), and that the tribe of Judah did not succeed in driving out the inhabitants of the valley. This would appear to indicate that the belt of country to the north of Judah remained unconquered, and this would explain why it was that there was no co-operation between Judah and the northern tribes prior to the days of the kingdom.

T. H. Robinson has recently advanced the theory that the tribe of Judah had no Israelite blood at all in it.¹ He holds that it was in reality a Canaanite tribe, whose centre was in the Hebron district, and that at an early age there were inroads by nomad Kenites and Kenizzites from the south, which brought Hormah and Debir into their hands. These invaders worshipped

¹ Cf. *Amicitiae Corolla* (Rendel Harris Festschrift), 1933, pp. 265-273, and *History of Israel*, i, 1937, pp. 169 f.

Yahweh, but were entirely separate from, and unrelated to, the Israelites who came out of Egypt. Under pressure from the Philistines, the Canaanite tribe of Judah made common cause with these invading Kenites and Kenizzites, so that they became fused together, and gradually old Judahite—i.e. Canaanite—traditions were transferred to Caleb, who became the hero of the fused tribes. In the period of Saul and David, the pressure of the Philistines effected the co-operation of this now mixed tribe of Judah and the Israelites of the central district, and this co-operation was sealed by the admission of Judah to the Israelite fellowship, and its recognition as an Israelite tribe. Robinson thinks this recognition was facilitated by the fact that the Kenites and Kenizzites who penetrated into Judah were worshippers of Yahweh, and that as they became fused with the Canaanite tribe of Judah, the cult of Yahweh became the cult of the entire group. In the time of the monarchy, when Judah and Central Israel co-operated against the Philistines, their common worship of Yahweh made it simple to recognize one another as sister tribes.

On this view Robinson thinks the non-mention of Judah in the Song of Deborah is explained by the fact that Judah was not yet recognized as Israelite at all. For he places the Song of Deborah prior to the Philistine incursion into the land. In the Song some of the Israelite tribes are blamed for withholding their help, while others are commended for their co-operation. But Judah is not mentioned, either for praise or blame. It is just as easy, however, to explain this by the more usual view, which has been followed above. If Judah was a Hebrew tribe, which entered the land from the south, in a wave of immigration quite separate from that which brought the Israelites of the central highlands, and if in the age of Deborah it was still separated from the Israelites of the central district by a Canaanite belt, then it would not be practicable to expect help from Judah against the Canaanite enemies of the Valley of Esdraelon. When, in the age of Saul and David, Judahites and Central Israelites combined against the Philistines, they combined against a foe that menaced both alike. And since the same menace threatened the Canaanite cities that remained in the land, their

inhabitants would not be likely to offer any embarrassment to that co-operation. But the enemy of Deborah was a Canaanite chieftain in the north, and not only were the Judahites beyond the range of his influence, but had they ventured to leave their homes to share in the enterprise, they would have exposed their own settlements to attack from the Canaanites whom they would have left in their rear.

That the tribe of Judah contained many non-Israelite elements, however, is abundantly clear from the Old Testament. But I believe that it also contained a Hebrew core. Probably as it advanced northwards into the land, it became fused with Kenite and Kenizzite elements, and this mixed company pressed gradually against the Canaanites. I believe Robinson is wholly right in tracing the origin of the Yahwism of the tribe of Judah to the Kenite elements in the group. It is now, of course, a widely held view that the worship of Yahweh was the Kenite religion, and that it was from his Kenite father-in-law that Moses first learnt to worship this God. On this view, then, the Yahwism of the tribe of Judah was learned from the Kenites independently of Moses, not in a moment of dramatic adoption, as at Sinai, but by a process of gradual permeation.

IV.

A wholly different view of the course of events is taken by T. J. Meek,¹ who places the settlement of the central highlands before that of Judah. He finds in the attacks of the Habiru the attack of Joshua on the central districts, and believes that in the Amarna age Gilgal, Shechem, Gibeon, Shiloh, Mizpah and Bethel were already in Israelite hands, and that this 'doubtless' explains why none of the Amarna letters emanate from these towns.² But he reverses the chronological order of Moses and

¹ Cf. 'A Proposed Reconstruction of Hebrew History' in *American Journal of Theology*, xxiv, 1920, pp. 209-216, 'The Israelite Conquest of Ephraim,' in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 61, Feb. 1936, pp. 17-19, and *Hebrew Origins*, 1936, Chap. 1. Cf. also Luckenbill, 'On Israel's Origins' in *A.J.Th.*, xxii, 1918, pp. 24-53.

² In *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 61, Feb., 1936, p. 18, Meek suggests that the Israelite incursion began *circa* 1400 B.C. or later, and on p. 17 says their conquest was gradual, and a century or more passed before a considerable portion was theirs. But if so many important settlements were theirs by the Amarna age, their progress would seem to have been very rapid. It would therefore appear that Meek has modified his view on this point.

Joshua, and supposes that the Exodus under Moses took place a century later than the Amarna age, and that *circa* 1200 B.C. the tribes that Moses led effected their settlement in Judah from the south.

We have already seen reason to believe that the settlement of Judah was effected from the south, but the Biblical evidence would suggest that it preceded the incursion by way of Jericho, instead of following it. Moreover, it may not be without significance that Othniel, the southern 'Judge,' stands first in the chronological scheme of the book of Judges.¹

More important is the consideration of the familiar story of Shechem, and the treachery of Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv). From that story it would appear that Simeon and Levi were once established in the region of Shechem, but that by their treachery they aroused great hostility against themselves, and Gen. xlix, 5-7 suggests that it was due to this that they failed to maintain themselves as geographical units, and were scattered in Israel. Simeon appears to have migrated southwards, and to have become absorbed into the tribe of Judah, while Levi gradually secured a functional, instead of a territorial, standing, and supplied the priests of the sacred shrines. Burney believed that Gen. xlviii. 22 ('Moreover I have given thee one *shechem* above thy brethren, which I took from the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow') is an ætiological account, whose purpose is to explain why Shechem, which once belonged to another group of the people, became the possession of the Joseph tribes.² Be that as it may, the Biblical tradition clearly suggests that Simeon and Levi were once established in the Shechem region, and that later it became Josephite. There is some indication in the Amarna letters that the Habiru occupied Shechem,³ and if the Amarna age were earlier than that of the

¹ It is sometimes objected to the late date view of the Exodus that it involves the compressing of the whole period covered by the book of Judges into little more than a century. In reality it does nothing of the kind. For since the book of Judges includes traditions of all the tribes, some of its stories may go back to pre-Mosaic days, since some of the tribes were, *ex hypothesi*, already in Canaan in an earlier age.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

³ Cf. Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, i, 1907, No. 289, line 23, and ii, 1915, p. 1343.

Exodus, it would be simple to suppose that the incident represented in Gen. xxxiv belongs to the Amarna age, but that Simeon and Levi had been dispossessed by the Canaanites before the arrival of Joshua and his following. Moreover, if Simeon belonged to the same wave of immigration as Judah, it is easily understandable why the tribe became absorbed in Judah when it was unable to maintain itself. On Meek's view, however, we must suppose that at some unspecified date there was a settlement of Simeon and Levi in this district, and later the incursion of the Habiru under Joshua, and still later the incursion of the tribes Moses led; or else, alternatively, we must suppose that Simeon and Levi came in with the Habiru, and were afterwards dispossessed, not by the Canaanites, but by the Joseph tribes. Either of these views presents obvious difficulties, but especially the second, for it would not explain why Simeon migrated to Judah, to be absorbed there. Nor would it accord with Meek's own view that the Levites were from the south, and were especially connected with Moses.¹

Still more serious is the difficulty of the religious development pre-supposed by Meek. He observes that according to the southern document, the worship of Yahweh does not begin at a specified point of history, whereas according to the northern document the revelation of the new name of Yahweh was made to Moses. From this he concludes that the worship of Yahweh was of southern origin, and that it was spread by the Levites, who were its propagandists, until it became the worship of the whole people.² This, however, does not explain why the

¹ Cf. *A.J.Th.*, xxiv, 1920, p. 212.

² Cf. also Meek, 'Some Religious Origins of the Hebrews' in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxvii, 1920-21, pp. 101-131; and Skipwith, 'Tribal Names and Traditions of Israel' in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xi, 1898-99, pp. 239-265. Cf. p. 250: 'There is nothing improbable in the conjecture that the Levite Moses may have adopted as the god of Israel the ancestral deity of the important tribe of Judah. If this hypothesis be entertained it clears up a serious difficulty. Why is the invocation of Jahveh represented in J as beginning with Enosh . . . while in E it is for the first time revealed to Moses? The answer is very simple: J expresses the point of view of Judah, where the worship of Jahveh was in fact immemorial; E that of Ephraim, where tradition could recall its introduction. A stronger confirmation of the hypothesis could hardly be desired.' It will appear below that this does not necessarily show that Israel's religion was derived from Judah.

northern traditions should assign the introduction of the name to a particular point of time, nor does it explain why the name of Moses should be associated in the tradition with this new beginning. If, *ex hypothesi*, Yahwism had existed from time immemorial amongst the people Moses led, it is surprising that there should have grown up the wholly erroneous idea that he had any part in the great covenant that bound his people to Yahweh. In Judah this was unnecessary, and in the northern tribes it was impossible, if Moses had nothing to do with them.

V.

Albright has recently advanced yet another view of the course of events, and while I think it abounds in improbabilities, his great reputation as an archæologist makes it necessary to consider it.¹ He holds that the house of Joseph was already in its home in Palestine *circa* 1400 B.C. But unlike Garstang, he does not connect their incursion with Joshua, or with the fall of Jericho. He believes that the Amarna letters indicate the growing menace of these newcomers to their older neighbours, and he therefore identifies the Joseph tribes with the Habiru of the Amarna letters. The fall of Jericho he dates between 1360 and 1320 B.C., and the fall of Bethel-Ai between 1300 and 1250 B.C. He identifies the Pharaoh of the Oppression with Rameses II, but holds that the Exodus took place quite early in his reign. Ten years of oppression, or even less, are held to have been sufficient to fix the name of the oppressor's city indelibly in Hebrew memory, and the Exodus is therefore placed about eleven years after the accession of Rameses. Albright holds that the tribes led out by Moses were the Leah tribes, and in particular the tribe of Judah, and believes that Moses achieved a confederation of the Leah tribes with the house of Joseph, and the more remotely related Hebrew groups known as 'the sons of the concubines.' Finally, Joshua's campaigns are held to have taken place between 1235 and 1200 B.C., and to have been conducted first in the neighbour-

¹ Cf. 'Archæology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine,' in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 58, April, 1935, pp. 10-18.

hood of Gibeon, and then in Judah, and finally perhaps in Galilee.

It will be seen that Albright's view has some points of connexion with that of Meek. For both hold that it was primarily the tribe of Judah that Moses led, while the Joseph tribes entered the land independently. But whereas Meek supposes that Joshua led the Joseph tribes, Albright dissociates him from them, and places his work after that of Moses. Both eliminate any sojourn of the Joseph tribes in Egypt. The most notable feature of Albright's view appears to be its complete scepticism as to the historical value of the Biblical traditions. It has already been agreed that whether we examine the Biblical accounts critically by themselves, or whether we test them by external sources, it is impossible to find in them exact historical records. The traditions have been combined and edited, and have lost something of their original form. But Albright's scepticism would seem to be excessive.

It is not clear why the Ephraimite traditions should tell of the beginnings of Yahwism with Moses, and the Judahite traditions should ascribe its beginnings to primeval days, if Judah shared the experiences of Sinai and Ephraim did not. Further, the oldest tradition concerning the Ark preserved in the Old Testament (Num. x. 35 f.) is in the Judahite document, and connects the Ark with Moses. The Ephraimite traditions also connect the Ark with Moses, but indicate too a special connexion with the tribe of Ephraim. Thus, the Ephraimite Joshua is said to have been the attendant in the Tent where the Ark was kept. Later we find the Ephraimite Samuel serving in a similar capacity in the Shiloh sanctuary, and since that sanctuary was an Ephraimite shrine, it is clear that in definitely historical times the Ark was associated with the tribe of Ephraim. All of this is readily intelligible on the view that it was particularly the Joseph tribes that Moses led, but is not intelligible on the view that Moses was the Judahite leader.

That Joshua was an Ephraimite would seem again to be firmly imbedded in the tradition, and if anything about him seemed secure, it was that he led the Ephraimites into their district by the way of Jericho. That victories quite independently won

have also been attached to his name is in the fullest accord with the Hebrew method,¹ but it would seem easier to find these accretions in the stories of victories in non-Ephraimite territory. But Albright separates him from the Ephraimite settlement by some two centuries, and accepts the traditions of his victories in Judah, and perhaps in Galilee, while denying him any connexion with the fall of Jericho, or of Bethel-Ai.

Moreover, the Biblical traditions make the whole descent into Egypt turn on Joseph, yet Albright denies that the Joseph tribes were ever in Egypt. For there is no suggestion that the Habiru had come from Egypt. Not only does Albright's view involve the rejection of the whole tradition of Joseph's governorship as an idle fabrication, therefore, but by disconnecting the Joseph tribes altogether from Egypt, it robs that tradition of the least vestige of fact on which to rest.

Nor is the case any better with Moses. The Biblical account says that Moses was born after the oppression began, and that he was brought up in the house of Pharaoh's daughter, and attained manhood before he fled to the desert. It is therefore of the essence of this account that the oppression was long continued, and it is explicitly stated that the Exodus did not take place in the reign of the Pharaoh who was responsible for the oppression. The particular figures recorded in the Bible may not be exact, indeed, because they are clearly based on an artificial division of Moses' life into three periods of forty years each. They make the beginning of the oppression to have preceded his birth, and represent it as continued until he was eighty years of age. But while this is an artificially prolonged period, to yield forty years for Moses in Egypt, and forty years in Midian, prior to the forty years of the wandering, the reason for his flight to Midian recorded in the tradition itself—his killing of an Egyptian—implies that he had already reached manhood. And it would appear probable that he spent some years in Midian before he returned to Egypt. Even though the artificial eighty years is too high, therefore, we should doubtless allow somewhere about fifty years. Albright's estimate of an

¹ Cf. McFadyen, 'Telescoped History,' in *Expository Times*, xxxvi, 1924-25, pp. 103-109.

oppression of at most ten years, therefore, involves a complete scepticism of the Moses saga. Moses could not have been born after the oppression began, and therefore the legend of his birth and rescue from the Nile is without a single element of fact ; he could not have been forced to flee from Egypt because he had slain an Egyptian, since a return within ten years and under the same monarch would have exposed him to the very peril from which he had fled ; while unless Moses had been in Egypt, and really belonged to the people he afterwards led out, a rational motive for his going into Egypt to bring them out is still to seek.

Furthermore, the confederation of the Leah tribes with the house of Joseph and the concubine tribes, assumed by Albright, is on every ground improbable. For since the Joseph tribes were, *ex hypothesi*, already settled in Palestine, the confederation could only be achieved after the Leah tribes had reached the land. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that Moses did not himself cross the Jordan, and none to suggest that he conducted any negotiations with peoples west of the Jordan. Moreover, if in the age of the Settlement there had been any confederacy that included Judah and Ephraim, the non-mention of Judah in the Song of Deborah would become more difficult to understand. Finally, the oldest elements in the traditions of the conquest state that Judah's invasion of her inheritance was the first in time (Jg. i. 1, 2) and that it was undertaken with assistance from Simeon (Jg. i. 3), and the Kenizzites (i. 12 f.) and Kenites (i. 16), but say nothing whatever of any confederacy with the Joseph tribes.

It must be emphasized that it is not here suggested that the mere fact of disagreement with the Old Testament invalidates Albright's view, for every view finds itself in disagreement with the Old Testament at some points. But this view not only enlarges the measure of the untrustworthiness of the Old Testament, but makes it particularly difficult to see how traditions so perverse can have arisen. While extra-Biblical facts must be taken fully into account, the archæological datings on which this view rests are not facts, but opinions, even though they are the opinions of an expert. And they are opinions which are

not shared by other experts. They are in quite a different category from the evidence of the Amarna letters, which are contemporary documents. Where, on internal or external evidence, we must doubt the reliability of the Old Testament record, we must doubt it. But at the same time we must seek to explain it, and to show some rational motive for the editing we posit.

VI.

One other view of the Exodus should perhaps be recorded¹—that of Eerdmans.² This would distinguish sharply between the Hebrews and the Israelites, and would place the entry of the former into Egypt before the reign of Thutmose III, but the entry of the Israelites proper *circa* 1210 B.C. under Siptah. Eerdmans believed that the Harris Papyrus enabled him to identify the prototype of Joseph.³ For there we read :⁴ ‘ From the abundant years of the past we had come to other times. The land of Egypt was in chiefships and in princedoms ; each killed the other among noble and mean. Other times came to pass after that ; in years of scarcity Arisu, a Syrian, was to them as chieftain. He made the whole land tributary to himself alone. He joined his companions with him, and seized their property. And they treated the gods in the same manner as they treated the people ; offerings were not presented in the shrines of the temples.’ Finally, he supposed that the Exodus took place *circa* 1130 B.C.

This view shortens the period of the sojourn in Egypt to about eighty years. In itself this would be no objection, but the oppression would have to be placed in the twelfth century

¹ It is unnecessary to treat seriously the view of E. Mahler (*Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, 1936), who supposes (p.231 ff.) that the date of the promise to Abraham may be fixed at Oct. 8th, 1764 B.C. by an eclipse which is assumed to have enabled the patriarch to see the stars in the day time (Gen. xv, 5), and similarly the date of the Exodus may be fixed at 27th Mar. 1335 B.C., by the eclipse of Thursday, 13th Mar., 1335 B.C., which is identified with the darkness of Nisan 1 in Ex. x.

² Cf. *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii, 1908, pp. 67-76.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, 1905, pp. 134 f. Cf. also Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1906, p. 474, and C.A.H., ii, 1924, pp. 171 f.

B.C., under the twentieth Egyptian dynasty, which provided no long reign that would meet the conditions of the Biblical narrative. The period of the wandering, the settlement in Canaan, the age of the Judges, and the reign of Saul, must all be compressed into a period of little more than a century, and if the settlement was effected by way of Jericho, then the fall of that city would have to be placed later than the latest date suggested by any archæologist.

Nor is there any adequate ground for the connexion of Arisu with Joseph. For Breasted describes the period after the death of Merenptah (1215 B.C.), until the reign of Rameses III (1198 B.C.), as a period of unsettlement, culminating in complete anarchy, and the period referred to in the quoted passage from the Harris Papyrus he finds to be some five years of usurpation.¹ If the Biblical traditions of fourteen years of wise and ordered government rest on nothing more substantial than some years of anarchy and usurpation, the distortion is so radical that it is surprising that any clue for the restoration could be found. Moreover, if the Israelite leader had been the master in Egypt, it is strange that the Hebrew traditions should have represented him as but the minister of the Pharaoh.

I therefore adhere to the view that the Exodus took place under Merenptah, *circa* 1225 B.C., and that the group that came out of Egypt included principally the Joseph tribes. That there were also some other elements besides the Joseph tribes may indeed be accepted. For Moses, who is represented as a Levite, must clearly have belonged to one group of those who were led out, or we are left without explanation of his going down into Egypt. It is true that it has been suggested that in the oldest tradition Moses was an Ephraimite,² but this is not convincing. Levi and Simeon, both most probably belonging to the groups that entered the land in the Amarna age, failed to maintain themselves in the Shechem district, and hence migrated, as Dan was compelled later to migrate. Simeon moved to the south and became merged in Judah, but some of

¹ *History of Egypt*, pp. 473 f., 600.

² Cf. Paton, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxii, 1913, pp. 29 f.

the Levi clans ¹ may well have formed part of a second company that went down into Egypt, especially if, as will be suggested below, the earlier migration into Egypt had but recently taken place. This would accord with the Biblical tradition that Joseph was later joined by other kindred Israelites, and would account for the birth of the Levite Moses in Egypt.

VII.

Turning now from the question of the Exodus and the entry into Palestine, can we find any indication as to the time at which the Hebrews that came out of Egypt had entered that land? It has been already observed that there is some reason to doubt the figure of four hundred and thirty years, assigned to the sojourn in Egypt in Ex. xii. 40. Most scholars, whether they accept this figure or halve it with the Samaritan and the Septuagint texts, place the entry into Egypt in the period of the Hyksos. It is said that these Semitic conquerors would be more likely to welcome the Hebrew clansmen than would any other Egyptian kings. But we are told that the Hebrews were assigned the land of Goshen because shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians (Gen. xli. 34). It is very unlikely that the Hyksos conquerors would be particularly tender towards the susceptibilities of the Egyptians, however, and the intense bitterness of the Egyptian memories of the Hyksos rule very strongly suggest that it was not marked by any such consideration. It is much more likely that after finding deliverance from these Asiatic bedouins, the Egyptians deepened their contempt for bedouin shepherds, and that under succeeding dynasties that contempt had to be considered.

Again, anyone reading Ex. i. by itself, freed from any idea of a sojourn of four hundred and thirty years in Egypt, would gather the impression that the oppressing Pharaoh arose soon after the death of Joseph and his generation. We read 'And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation. And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly,

¹ Probably not all the Levites went into Egypt, but others of the clansmen were scattered amongst the remaining immigrant groups, and from these Micah's priest (Jg. xvii. 12 f.) and his like arose.

and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty ; and the land was filled with them. Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.' The middle verse of these three comes from a separate source, and the first and third probably stood originally in immediate connexion. 'And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation. And there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.' This could only suggest that the oppressing Pharaoh came to the throne soon after the time of Joseph. If, then, Rameseis II is to be identified with the oppressing Pharaoh, and if his accession in 1292 B.C. was not very far separated from the death of Joseph, the descent into Egypt would have to be placed in the fourteenth century B.C. The Biblical account would put the death of Joseph about seventy years after the descent into Egypt, and while this figure may not be exact, if Gen. i. 23 correctly tells us that Joseph lived to see his great-grand-children, we should need to assign to him not less than fifty years after the descent. And if to this we add a modest interval between the death of Joseph and the accession of the oppressing Pharaoh, we reach a figure of not far short of seventy years between the Descent and the rise of the oppressor, or about a hundred and forty years between the Descent and the Exodus.

This accords well with the other indications we have already noted, suggesting that the period from the Descent to the Exodus covered four generations. And this would bring the descent into Egypt to *circa* 1365 B.C. But this is in the Amarna age, and it would therefore suggest that the movement of some Hebrew groups into Egypt was contemporary with the movement of other Hebrew groups into southern Palestine, and the movement of related groups into northern Palestine. It may be observed that Meek, who places the Exodus at the end of the thirteenth century B.C., but connects it with the southern tribes, places the entry into Egypt in the Amarna age.¹ Kittel, too, places the entry into Egypt in the same age.² It may be

¹ *A.J.Th.*, xxiv, 1920, p. 210.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i, 7th ed., 1932, p. 366. Cf. also Schmidtke, *Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan*, 1933, p. 66: "Für den Übertritt von Hebräern oder Israeliten aus Palästina nach Ägypten passen am ehesten die letzten Regierungsjahre Amenophis IV und die Zeit der folgenden schwachen Könige bis Haremheb."

noted that the Biblical account represents the descent into Egypt as brought about by the pressure of hunger, and the same pressure was doubtless responsible for the migration of the Habiru into Canaan, as it has been responsible for many other migrations in the course of history.

This view of the period of the Descent would seem to accord well with some other indications. For the period of Ikhnaton would provide the best historical background for the Joseph story. It is generally recognized that that story is a fine piece of narrative writing, but its historical value is commonly ignored. The similarity of one element in the story—the part played by Potiphar's wife—to what is recorded in the old Egyptian 'Tale of the Two Brothers'¹ is sometimes noted, but that similarity does not suffice to set the Joseph story down as baseless fiction. I am persuaded that there is a historical substratum in the early Biblical traditions, though it is impossible to treat them as solid historical sources in the form in which we have them. The Joseph story tells us of a Hebrew who became the first officer of state in Egypt, charged with the administration of the whole land. If there is any element of the story which contains a historical kernel, it is likely to be this. But we are not told the name of the Pharaoh, nor do we learn anything of this episode from Egyptian sources.

In such circumstances all we can do is to inquire if there is any known period in Egyptian history when this might conceivably happen, and whether there are indications in the Biblical story that would point to that period. It has already been observed that prior to the reign of Ikhnaton, and subsequent to the reaction under Tutankhamen, the priests of Amen exercised considerable influence on the administration of the state, and often supplied the principal officers of the crown. In the period that followed the restoration of their power, they greatly extended their control,² and hence Gressmann's view of a descent into Egypt *circa* 1300 B.C.³ would allow little possi-

¹ For this see Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, E.T., by Blackman, 1927, pp. 150-161.

² Cf. Speleers, *Supp. au Dict. de la Bible*, ii, 1934, col. 816.

³ *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 404 f. Gressmann places the Exodus *circa* 1260 B.C., and thinks the sojourn in Egypt lasted for about fifty years.

bility of finding a historical substratum in this part of the story. For under such conditions we could hardly look for the exaltation of an alien Hebrew. But since Ikhnaton broke with the Theban priesthood, and therefore not merely lost the services of trained officers of state but had to face the hostility of this politically powerful body, he would be precisely the person who would be likely to welcome efficiency and ability wherever he could find it. He was, as is frequently stated, immersed in his religious reforms, and he might well, therefore, entrust the secular administration of the state to some one of trusted ability, in the way the Biblical account represents.

In the Joseph story we are told that under Joseph's administration there was a complete change in land tenure in Egypt, and that it was thereafter all held directly of the king. According to Breasted,¹ it was in the time of Ahmose I, the Pharaoh who drove out the Hyksos in 1580 B.C., that this change was effected, and he believes it was this achievement of Ahmose that was represented in the Hebrew tradition as the work of Joseph. It is, of course, impossible to suppose that the Joseph of our Biblical traditions can have belonged to the time of Ahmose. The Pharaoh who had just driven out the hated Semites would hardly have installed a Semite from Asia as his chief officer of state. It is possible, however, that the Hebrew tradition has simply ascribed to Joseph the origin of a system of land tenure which was known to have been anciently adopted in Egypt. It is also possible that there was some confusion between what took place in the time of Ahmose, and what took place in the time of Ikhnaton. There is no record, so far as I know, of any general confiscation of property in the time of Ikhnaton,² but

¹ Cf. *History of Egypt*, p. 229.

² H. Schäfer (in 'Altes und Neues zur Kunst und Religion von Tell el-Amarna' in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, lv, 1918, pp. 1-43) has suggested that there is a relation between Ikhnaton's record of his own reign and the Biblical tradition of Joseph's revision of the system of land tenure. He says (p. 31 n.): 'Die Worte des Königs (Amenophis IV) in seiner grossen Inschrift scheinen mir von ausserordentlicher Wichtigkeit noch in anderer Beziehung, nämlich für unsere Kenntnis von den Grundeigentumsverhältnissen im alten Ägypten. Denn offenbar werden von ihm diejenigen aufgezählt, die Grundeigentumsrecht im Staate überhaupt beanspruchen können. Das sind, ausser dem Könige selbst, nur die Götter und die Fürsten. Das

we do learn of the dispossession of the priests of Amen, who possessed enormous estates. Against this it can be urged that the Scripture record expressly states that the priests were not dispossessed by Joseph (Gen. xlvii. 22). It goes on, however, to state that the priests had a portion which Pharaoh gave them. This would suggest that the estates which were undisturbed were estates which this Pharaoh had given to the priests, and the reference may be to the endowment given by the king to the new Aton worship. The other gods were no longer recognized to be gods; their worship was proscribed, and presumably their priests were no longer recognized to be priests. The appropriation of their revenues and estates, therefore, may be the historical fact which lies behind the story.

A more direct suggestion of the age of Ikhnaton, however, is found in the statement that the Pharaoh gave to Joseph the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis to wife. The long established sun-worship of Heliopolis was addressed to the sun-god under the name Ra, or Re, but Ikhnaton 'made no attempt to conceal the identity of his new deity with the old sun-god Re.'¹ Moreover, the title he assumed for himself was identical with that of the High Priest of Heliopolis. Under Ikhnaton, therefore, to be given the daughter of the High Priest of Heliopolis would be a more significant honour than it could have been under any other Pharaoh. For though the Heliopolitan cult was favoured in other periods, in this alone was it exalted to become the sole cult.

"Niemand" betont noch einmal die Ausschliesslichkeit der Aufzählung. In der Erwähnung der "Fürsten" könnten die letzten den alten Gaufürsten noch gebliebenen Grundrechte stecken. Diese Auffassung der ganzen Stelle passt ausgezeichnet zu dem, was der Erzähler der Josephgeschichte 1 Mos. 47, 20, 22 über Ägypten erfahren hat. Nach ihm haben dort nur der König und die Tempel (die ausserdem noch Lieferungen vom Könige erhalten) Rechtsansprüche auf Grundeigentum. Das schien ihm so verwunderlich gegenüber heimischen Verhältnissen und so klug, dass er die Herbeiführung dieses Zustandes für seinen Urvater in anspruch nahm. Die "Fürsten" werden nicht erwähnt. Deren Rechte mögen in den fast fünfhundert Jahren seit Amenophis IV geschwunden sein, wenn man nicht annehmen will, dass sie auf die "Krieger" übertragen sind, die Diodor I, 73 an dritter Stelle (König, Priester, Krieger) nennt. Vielleicht aber darf man die Erzählung in der Genesis überhaupt nicht so scharf in alle Einzelheiten pressen.' Cf. also Gressmann, *Eucharisterion* (Gunkel Festschrift), i, 1923, p. 29.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 360. Cf. Baikie, *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 359-364.

Again, the conditions revealed in the Amarna letters can be easily understood in the light of this view. If Joseph were the supreme officer of state, and the king so immersed in religion that he was left with a completely free hand, we could understand why no succour was sent to the Palestinian states in their struggle against tribes akin to Joseph himself. We are usually told that Ikhnaton was a dreamy idealist, quite incapable of handling the stern realities of administration, and the state of affairs in Palestine is attributed to this cause. The king is described as a pacifist, who allowed his empire to drift from him through a theoretical objection to warfare. All of this may be true, but I am persuaded that it is irrelevant to the situation. Whether or not Ikhnaton was incapable of handling the administration of the empire, there was some strong hand in control during his reign. To represent that reign as a time of weak administration and *laissez faire* is wholly to misrepresent it. The king who could carry through so considerable a reform in the teeth of public opinion, and in face of the opposition of the powerful Theban priesthood, was either himself no weakling, or had a man of strength and ability, on whom he could rely. Throughout his reign the opposition in Egypt was powerless, and no weakness of the administration is apparent there. The weakness of which we learn was in Palestine. It was not, therefore, due to the inherent spinelessness of the administration, but to the fact that the administration did not care to exert its strength in Palestine. And if there is any truth in the Biblical story that a Hebrew was once in supreme charge of the Egyptian state, and if this was the time of his administration, we should have a sufficient explanation of the strength displayed against the Theban party in Egypt, and the inaction against the invaders of Palestine.

It is interesting to note that the Amarna letters indicate that the Egyptian High Commissioner for Palestine was actively helping the invaders, and embarrassing the local chiefs, and it has been suggested that this Commissioner, Yanhamu by name, is the prototype of Joseph.¹ This does not seem probable, for there is here no point of connexion with the story of the

descent into Egypt, since the administration of Yanhamu was in Palestine, and not in Egypt. Since the protests that were sent to the king produced no redress, I find it easier to believe that the Commissioner knew that he was carrying out the wishes of a higher authority, and that the protests never reached the ears of the king.

VIII.

But would not this view throw too great an interval between the age of Abraham and that of the descent into Egypt? It is commonly supposed that Abraham belongs to the age of Hammurabi, who is to be dated, most probably, in the twenty-first century B.C. But on what slender grounds! The only indication we have in the Old Testament to determine the age of Abraham is found in Gen. xiv. 1. Here we read how Amraphel, king of Shinar, with three other powerful kings, made war on five small cities of Palestine, situated near the Dead Sea. Shinar is commonly identified with Sumer, the old name for the southern part of Babylonia, and Amraphel is identified with Hammurabi. Arioch, king of Elasar, is then identified with Eriaku, king of Larsa, who was more or less contemporary with Hammurabi. Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, is unknown from other sources, but the name looks like a genuine Elamite one. Tidal, king of Goim, has been harder to identify.

But the story itself inspires some doubts. Whether the names can be shown to be possible names of a group of contemporary rulers or not—and they have not yet been shown to be such—it is certain that Hammurabi was not a subordinate of Elam. There is evidence of an Elamite hegemony in ancient times, but not in the age of Hammurabi, and it is quite certain that that king would not have led his armies westwards in a confederacy under Elamite leadership.¹ Further, that four powerful kings should combine in an expedition against a few small towns is very improbable. It is still more unlikely that the household servants of one man should be able to rout the

¹ Cf. *C.A.H.*, i, p. 236.

army of these victorious allies, and pursue them nearly a hundred and fifty miles. Few scholars attach any historical weight to the story itself, though most seem to allow it decisive weight in discussing the age of Abraham. I cannot see why greater weight should be attached to its statement on this point, even if it were clear. But when it is far from clear, and when the whole decision rests on a doubtful identification in a story of doubtful historical worth, it can claim but scant authority.

In recent years Böhl has maintained that the original of Tidal, king of Goim, is to be found in Tudhalia, king of the Hittites. The first Tudhalia of whom we have knowledge belonged to the seventeenth century B.C., and Böhl has tried to identify the other names of Gen. xiv. 1 as belonging to persons in that age.¹ Similarly, Kraeling,² Jirku³ and Albright⁴ adopt a date in the seventeenth century B.C. for Abraham. Schmidtke,⁵ on the other hand, has proposed to carry Abraham down to the Amarna age.

For myself, I am not disposed to try to fix the age of Abraham. I would merely urge that there is no strong evidence to point to the age of Hammurabi, and that the evidence of Gen. xiv. 1 is both obscure in itself, and of doubtful value even if it were clear. This chapter stands quite outside all the main sources of the Pentateuch, which give us no indication whatever of the period in which Abraham lived. We have no means of knowing, therefore, how far the Amarna age was from the age of Abraham.

IX.

We may now turn to look at some of the implications of the view here presented. It has already been observed that it is a common view that Moses learned the worship of Yahweh from

¹ Cf. 'Die Könige von Genesis 14' in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxxvi, 1916, pp. 65-73; 'Tud' alia I, Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 v. Chr.,' *ibid.*, N.F., i, 1924, pp. 148-153; and 'Das Zeitalter Abrahams' in *Der Alte Orient*, xxix, 1930, Heft 1.

² *Aram and Israel*, 1918, p. 32.

³ Cf. *Z.A.W.*, xxxix, 1921, pp. 152-6, 313 f.; and *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1931, pp. 61-65.

⁴ Cf. 'Shinar-Sangar and its monarch Amraphel' in *A.J.S.L.*, xl, 1923-24, pp. 125-133; and *A.A.S.O.R.*, vi, 1926, pp. 62 f.

⁵ Cf. *Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan* 1933, pp. 50 f.

his Kenite father-in-law. This view, which was first suggested three-quarters of a century ago, is associated especially with the names of Stade¹ and Budde,² who gave it so effective a presentation that it has been followed by a long line of subsequent scholars. There is no overwhelming evidence for it, but it is a theory which so well accounts for the course of the development that it may reasonably be adopted. Of direct evidence, however, there is little in the Old Testament. The chief indications there are found in the obscure references to Jethro. For while we are told that Jethro was a priest of Midian, we are not told the name of his god. Later, however, we find that when the Israelites come out of Egypt, Jethro comes to meet Moses to rejoice that Yahweh has proved his greatness, and he offers sacrifice to Yahweh, and presides at the sacred meal which follows (Ex. xviii.). This would suggest that Jethro was a priest of this God in whose name Moses had led the people out of Egypt. He rejoiced in the demonstration of the power of his God, and as His priest officiated at the sacrifice.

Meek, who rejects the Kenite hypothesis, objects that the passage shows us Jethro being initiated into the cult of Yahweh, whose might he for the first time recognizes.³ That the might of Yahweh, evidenced in His deliverance of Israel from Egypt, exceeded any previous experience of Jethro, may be readily allowed. But there is nothing to suggest that Jethro was being initiated into the cult. Nor would the passage provide any motive for his initiation, since it represents Jethro as departing from Moses and Israel afterwards. This last consideration is sufficient to overthrow Meek's view of the passage, for he holds that it is a reminiscence of the attachment of the Kenites to the tribe of Judah, with the resultant adoption of the religious faith of the latter. A passage which states that no such attachment took place (xviii. 27) hardly looks like the story of that attachment.

¹ Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i, 1887, pp. 130 f. ; and *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, 1905, pp. 42 f.

² *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 1899, chapter i.

³ Cf. *A.J.S.L.*, xxxvii, 1920-21, p. 104. Cf. also *Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 86-92.

It is true that elsewhere (Num. x. 29-32), as Meek further points out, we are told explicitly that in response to the invitation of Moses, his father-in-law, here called Hobab the son of Reuel, joined himself with Israel, and there are ample evidences that there was a Kenite admixture in the tribe of Judah. But all this only provides the clearest evidence against Meek's view of both the secular and the religious development. For it is the southern, or Judahite, tradition which tells that the Kenites joined themselves to Israel, while the Ephraimite tradition says that no amalgamation took place. On the view that Judah was not present with Moses at Sinai, but incorporated some Kenite elements, and from these learned her Yahwism by gradual permeation, it is intelligible that she should place the beginnings of Yahwism in her traditions in the beginnings of time. For she had no memory of any definite occasion when the worship of Yahweh was begun. And on the view that Moses first became acquainted with the worship of Yahweh through his father-in-law, who met him when he led a company consisting principally of the Joseph tribes out of Egypt, but who did not join his company, we can account for the northern tradition recording the incident, while the northern tribes were free from Kenite admixture. But if, as Meek supposes, the northern tribes were not present at Sinai, but Judah was, and there became united with Kenite elements, we can only wonder at the perversity of a tradition which records a union by stating that it did not take place.

We may more reasonably suppose that it was through Kenite contacts, varying indeed in character, that the two streams of Israelite immigration acquired their Yahwism. The earlier stream, entering the land in the Amarna age, and including the tribe of Judah and Kenite and other elements, but maintaining a life quite separate from the Central Tribes until the time of Saul and David, learned its Yahwism by gradual permeation. It knew no experience of dramatic consecration to Yahweh, and was therefore unable to say when Yahwism began. It therefore pushed back its origins to the beginning of time. The other stream was led by Moses, who had lived with his Kenite father-in-law for some years near the seat of this God Yahweh, whose

priest Jethro was. One day Moses, brooding on the wrongs his oppressed fellow-tribesmen were suffering in Egypt, heard the call of this God Yahweh to go and rescue them from Egypt. Yahweh thus chose Israel when she was in bondage, and delivered her in a way she could never forget. And when He had triumphantly led her out by the hand of Moses, she came to His sacred seat, and there solemnly pledged herself to Him. Here was a new thing in religion, of incalculable significance.

Again, however, Meek raises an objection. He says 'It is said that the Hebrew adoption of Yahweh, as likewise his adoption of them, was an act of choice, as if this were "a new thing in the history of religion" and the reason for the ethical character of the Hebrew religion. But the most casual study of the history of religions will show that races since the beginning of time have been borrowing their neighbours' gods, but these acts of choice have not been fraught with any great "far-reaching consequences," as is claimed for the Hebrews.'¹ This once more confuses the issues. It is true that peoples have adopted the gods of strangers for a variety of reasons. It has been suggested above that Judah adopted the Kenite god through the influence of the interpenetration of the two tribes; history has many records of military conquest leading to the imposition of the worship of the conquerors upon the conquered; frequently have peoples copied, as Israel in later days too often did, the religion of neighbouring peoples with whom they had intercourse. But none of these are on the same footing as the case here in question. This is a case of a God first adopting a people, adopting them when weak and in bondage, and then delivering them, and of a people then pledging themselves in gratitude to this God. Surely this was a new thing in the history of religion, and it was much more than a mere act of choice. It was the acceptance of a great constraint, but not the constraint of material force. It was the acceptance of the constraint of gratitude. Meek objects to the common supposition that this view explains the ethical quality of Yahwism, but it still seems reasonable to disagree. For gratitude is itself

¹ Cf. *Hebrew Origins*, 1936, pp. 86-92.

an ethical emotion, and before we abandon the view that a religious covenant entered into under the constraint of gratitude was a new thing in the story of men, we must await some better parallel than has yet been provided.

Nor is this all that flows from the view here taken. It is well known that Ex. xxxiv. preserves a form of the Decalogue quite different from the familiar one of Ex. xx. and Deut. v. It is commonly referred to as the Ritual Decalogue, in contrast with the Ethical Decalogue of the other passages. In its present form it contains more than ten words, indeed, but it is probable that originally it contained just ten, though there is no exact agreement as to which they were.¹

It is generally agreed that the Ritual Decalogue is a more primitive one than the more familiar Decalogue, yet it would appear to be subsequent to the settlement in Palestine, since it is concerned with agricultural festivals. It is on this ground that most scholars hold that the Ethical Decalogue, even in its original unexpanded form, cannot go back to the time of Moses. On the other hand, there are several scholars today who are not disposed to deny that the Ethical Decalogue may go back to Moses.² T. H. Robinson observes that it does seem to represent very fairly the general moral standard which we may ascribe to Israel in the days preceding the Settlement.³

It seems to me wholly improbable that the Ritual Decalogue can have followed the Ethical Decalogue in the same stream of development. But the view above advanced would avoid such a supposition. The Ritual Decalogue belongs to the Judahite tradition, and the Ethical Decalogue to the Ephraimite. They therefore belong to two different streams, and there is no reason whatever why the one stream should not have attained the higher level before the other had left the lower. Moreover, we have seen reason to place Judah's settlement earlier than Ephraim's.

¹ Cf. Beer, *Pesachim*, 1912, pp. 23-26; Gray, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxvii, 1936, pp. 244-250.

² E.g., Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i, 7th ed., 1932, pp. 383-386, 445-448; Schmidt, 'Mose und der Dekalog' in *Eucharisterion* (Gunkel Festschrift), i, 1923, pp. 78-119; Volz, *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., i, 1927, col. 1817.

³ Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., 1937, p. 168.

Taking over her religion from the Kenites, she took over a primitive development, and she may have long continued on the primitive level. But the tribes that came out of Egypt, under the influence of the great personality of Moses, rose to a higher level. The covenant relation, on which her Yahwism was based, sprang out of the ethical emotion of gratitude, and her religion may well have crystallized itself in a loftier Decalogue.

While, therefore, this paper deals primarily with a matter of chronology, much more than chronology is concerned. It is a matter of the whole course of early Hebrew history, and in particular pre-Settlement history, and of the religious origins of Israel's worship. It offers an explanation of the notable disagreement between the two primitive documents which lie behind the Pentateuch, and it makes possible the ascription of the Ethical Decalogue, in its primitive form, to Moses, while freeing it of any time relation to the Ritual Decalogue.

FRANÇOIS VILLON—A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By E. F. CHANEY, M.A.

THAT a Professor of French in an industrial city gave, in the year 1937, a series of lectures on Villon, a fifteenth-century French poet, to a class of extra-mural students is a remarkable fact. So remarkable that it may be well worth while to consider briefly the vicissitudes of his reputation and to note the increasing interest in his work during the last fifty years.

François was born in Paris about 1431 at a time when the city was occupied by the English. His early years were years of hardship, famine, plague and general ruin. Life and property were of little account. We are told by the anonymous "*Bourgeois de Paris*" that hundreds of houses were untenanted and falling into ruin and that in 1438 over 40,000 people died of famine and epidemic disease. The activities of the Burgundians, Armagnacs, and numerous brigands added to the general confusion.

His parents were poor and obscure. He seems never to have seen his father. Before he was ten he was accepted as a pupil by Guillaume de Villon, a canon of St. Benoît, and according to the custom of the times, went to live in the Cloître St. Benoît with his benefactor. The canon probably taught him his rudiments and later sent him to the University where he graduated as *maître-ès-arts* in 1452. It was probably during his university course that he assumed the name of Villon which he made so famous. We know but little of his life except that he was concerned with a murder and a robbery and had to absent himself from Paris for several lengthy periods, one of

which extended to nearly five years (1456-61). We know next to nothing of him during these absences. He travelled about parts of France in great penury and almost certainly eked out a meagre livelihood by all kinds of dishonesty. It was almost certain that he was associated in some capacity with a notorious band of swindlers, robbers and murderers known as "Coquillards." At any rate he certainly wrote several ballads in their jargon whilst two of his intimates, Régnier de Montigny and Colin de Cayeux, did belong to it.

He probably began to write verses during his student days because he seems to have acquired something of a reputation as a versifier of conventional and especially of satiric ballads. The main part of his work was written between 1456 and 1464 or 1465, although from 1464 onward we hear nothing of him. His known work consists of the "Lais" (or *Petit Testament*) containing 320 octosyllabic lines written on the eve of one of his sudden departures from Paris in 1456; "Le Grand Testament" of 2023 lines, commenced in 1461 and probably revised and added to during the following two or three years. In this were incorporated some of his earlier ballads. In addition we have sixteen separate poems besides the ballads in jargon. Thus his total known output was just over 3000 lines.

He was already famous in Paris of the fifteenth century but suffered almost total eclipse for the three hundred years after Clément Marot's edition of 1533. Interest in him began to grow in the nineteenth century and has continued to grow at an accelerated rate during the last forty years.

There is no known original manuscript of his. It is even unlikely that he ever attempted to bring together all his poems into one 'Corpus.' But there are several MSS. assigned to dates between 1470 and 1500, mostly to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Nowadays the student need not go to Paris or Stockholm but can consult phototype facsimiles of the more important. The earliest facsimile in point of date is that printed by H. Champion in 1905 of the Stockholm MS. known as "F," because it once belonged to Fauchet, Président de la Cour des Monnaies. This reproduction was edited by Marcel Schwob.

The second is: "Deux manuscrits de François Villon," edited by Jeanroy and Droz, 1932. This contains the MS. known as "B," No. 1661, and that known as "C," (from Coislin, one of its owners in the eighteenth century), No. 20041, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The first printed edition, that of Pierre Levet, Paris, 1489, known as "I" (Imprimé) is also available in facsimile: "La plus ancienne édition de François Villon," edited by Pierre Champion, 1924 (Edition des quatre chemins).

Sources B, C, F, I, J, are available in many English libraries and can be bought for a pound or two each. I have not described "J" (Jardin de Plaisance) as it is less important than the other sources, which are sufficient for most students.

Thirty-three extant editions between 1489 and 1542 are a sufficient proof of Villon's popularity at the time. Of these thirty-three the next in importance to Levet's is Clement Marot's edition, 1533. This was prepared at the request of François I, who is reputed to have had a very high opinion of his namesake's verses. Although Marot prepared his edition within seventy years of Villon's death he found many of the allusions quite incomprehensible. Nevertheless many of his notes are valuable.

Villon's reputation was quite submerged by the Pléiade and in particular by the fame and popularity of Ronsard. Rabelais, Régnier, La Fontaine and Patru knew and appreciated Villon's work, but it is doubtful whether many of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers were acquainted with it. Although he devotes two lines of his "Art Poétique" to him it seems likely that Boileau knew of him rather by hearsay than from first-hand information. At any rate he fully appreciated his importance in the history of French poetry.

The eighteenth century witnessed the production of two editions, one by Coustelier, 1723, the other issued at the Hague, 1742.

After nearly three hundred years of almost total eclipse the edition produced in 1832 by the Abbé J. H. R. Prompsault brought about a considerable revival of interest. The poet, Théophile Gautier, read and appreciated Villon with a poet's ear and eye, but lapses into those errors which were quite

unavoidable before the lengthy and very successful researches of Auguste Longnon which resulted in the production of his 'Etude biographique' in 1877, and his critical edition of the poems in 1892. Between 1832 and 1892 appeared editions by Paul Lacroix in 1854, and by Pierre Jannet in 1867. Both works ran to several editions but neither has any great value. As a later critic, L. Thuasne, showed, Lacroix's edition abounds in inaccuracies. Longnon's edition, on the other hand, was scholarly and accurate and forms the basis of all subsequent editions of which the more important are :—

1. Longnon's own revision of his text, 1911. This has been amplified by Lucien Foulet in 1914, 1923, and 1932. The latter provides the most correct and up-to-date text that is available to-day.

2. The monumental edition in three volumes by Louis Thuasne, Paris, 1923. There are two big volumes of notes some of which, though interesting, are of inordinate length and beside the point. These, however, are but small flaws in a great piece of work. Any student using this work should read as a corrective, "François Villon et les thèmes poétiques du moyen âge," 1934. written in French by an Italian scholar, Italo Siciliano. In the writer's opinion the latter book is the most remarkable that has been written about Villon in recent years.

3. In 1923 there also appeared an excellent edition by another Italian, Ferdinando Neri, Turin.

4. In 1934 Jeanroy produced a valuable little edition in which he reverts to Marot's orthography. His valuable notes are perhaps too laconic. It is a good example of the printer's art as well.

There are a number of good biographies of Villon. In 1859 Campaux attempted to write one based on a study of his works. It is even now an interesting work but it caused Sainte-Beuve to make some ill-natured remarks both about Campaux and Villon. About this time Longnon began to probe the archives and succeeded in disinterring a number of documents which threw light into some of the dark corners of Villon's life. These discoveries were incorporated in his 'Etude Biographique,'

1877. A study of these two works will show the great progress made by Longnon. Through the efforts of Longnon, Marcel Schwob and Gaston Paris, further discoveries were made which the latter included in his excellent study of Villon (*Grands Ecrivains*, 1901). Although this work is approaching its fortieth year there is very little of it that needs revision. A striking testimony to a very great scholar.

The next landmark was erected by Pierre Champion who became the literary executor of Marcel Schwob in 1905. To Schwob's multifarious notes he added the fruits of his own researches and produced in 1913 "*François Villon : Sa Vie et Son Temps*" in two well-printed and well-illustrated volumes. Every student of Villon needs to read, at any rate, parts of this valuable work. It attempts to recall the atmosphere of fifteenth-century Paris, and contains much interesting lore about Villon and his times besides a lengthy, running commentary on his poems. Other studies worth noting are those of de Vere Stacpoole, 1916; D. B. Wyndham Lewis, 1928—most interesting and a successful reconstruction of old Paris, with vivid portrayal of Villon's life there; Corti, in Spanish (Buenos Aires, 1931); Desonay, Paris, 1933, and the arresting work of Siciliano previously mentioned.

There still remains the edition prepared by Geoffroy Atkinson, and published by the Scholartis Press in 1930. In several ways it is the most useful edition of Villon for English and American readers. In addition to a useful introduction and some short notes there is the French text with a very good English translation on the opposite page. Other translations were into verse by Payne (1878); de Vere Stacpoole (1913), partly in verse and partly in prose; in verse by Lepper (1924) and Wharton (1935).

Amato's Italian edition of 1929-30 contains a good translation into Italian prose. I have noted only the complete translations but it is fairly common knowledge that such poets as Rossetti and Swinburne attempted poetical translations of some of the ballads and shorter poems.

The fact that fifty books on Villon have appeared in France, England, Italy, Germany, and Belgium during the last half-century is sufficient proof of the great revival of interest in the

man and his work. From 1489 to 1533 Thuasne has recorded at least twenty-four editions ; for the next three hundred years there appeared barely four or five, and then the great outpouring from 1832 onwards.

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